PLATE I.

MEKALA POLIGADU. This new admission is shown in the illustration, escorted to the school by two stalwart guardians of the peace, with fixed bayonets. He belongs to a Pamulavadu, or criminal class, which is a sect of the Jogi caste. The boy is fifteen years of age, with both parents living, (the father being blind), and earned his livelihood by begging. He is an old offender, with two previous convictions. He was sent to the school for theft of a silver necklace, worth Rs. 6, from the neck of a girl aged six years. He did this on market day, and was instigated to it by another associate.

THE

JUVENILE CRIMINAL

IN

SOUTHERN INDIA

BY

J. W. COOMBES.

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PREFACE.

THE late Colonel Bertie Hobart, in one of his letters to my brother, remarked that "few people of those who have not been in India know what civilising institutions like this school (referring to the Chingleput Reformatory) are undertaken by Government." I am afraid that few critics of Government, even *in* India, are aware of the efforts which are being made to reclaim the juvenile offender and make him a good citizen.

The object of this little book, therefore, is threefold:—(1) To show what Government is doing for the country in this direction, (2) to put on record a few notes gathered in the course of my experience with juvenile criminals, which may be of use to those engaged in the study of juvenile criminality, and (3) to furnish information for a continuity of policy to my successors in office, especially during a transitive period, which is often a period of mischief and unrest.

I am indebted to Mr. K. Rangachari, M.A., for the brief notes on the Tamil and Telugu castes in Chapters VIII and IX.

The half-tone blocks were executed by W. H. Smith & Son, of Fetter Lane, London.

July, 1908.

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THE JUVENILE CRIMINAL IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

I.

INTRODUCTION.

THE establishment of Reformatory Schools in India is comparatively a recent movement, and dates back some twenty years. The results obtained during that period have more than justified the existence of these institutions. A short retrospect of the work done for the benefit of juvenile offenders, a description of their mental and moral condition and the special treatment they receive, may be of use both to those interested in their welfare, and to those entrusted with the guidance of these institutions.

The reformatory at Chinglepat stands out from its sister institutions in the North of India. It is a model one, and the reason is not far to seek, for while the authorities in other provinces affiliated those institutions to jails, and actually located them near jails, so that they were nothing more than junior jails, the Madras Government, with the late Mr. H. B. Grigg as its adviser, was careful to prevent, at the very

outset, anything approaching jail influence in the Chingleput school, thus gaining a march on the other institutions, both as regards treatment of pupils and results of work. While, therefore, the other reformatories grew up to be junior jails, under the necessarily mechanical and indiscriminate superintendence of the Jail Department, the reformatory in the Madras Presidency was placed, from its inception, under the Educational Department, and the wisdom of this course has been justified by the excellent results which have followed. Moreover, if imitation be a sincere form of flattery, the "Model Presidency" may justly be proud of the resolution of the Government of India which transferred, during the year 1898-99, the other reformatories from the control of the Jail to that of the Educational Department. The thin end of the Madras wedge was inserted when it was doubted whether the work of reformation could be carried on with any hope of success in a school which was associated in the minds of the boys themselves with the idea of a prison. In short, the reformatory in this Presidency is a school pure and simple.

The advantages of placing reformatories under the Educational Department are so obvious, that it is hard to imagine why so much valuable time was lost before the transfer was made. And even with the transfer, the difficulty of finding suitable educational officers still remains, for only men specially trained to the work can be of any use. In the Chingleput school, one notices, in particular, the absence of any rowdiness. The orderly appearance of the boys strikes

one forcibly at a first visit—a fact which called for remark by the Hon'ble Mr. Cardew, a former Inspector-General of Prisons, when he drew a comparison between this institution and that at Alipore, then under the Jail Department. Another pleasing result of this arrangement is that the 'old boys' are not ashamed of their connection with the school. They visit the school to recall old memories, and give expression to feelings of pleasure. It is no unusual sight to find an ex-pupil in the full uniform of a bandsman of a Native Regiment knock for admission, spend the day at the reformatory, take his old place in the school band, join in the boys' sports, and, before leaving, ask the Deputy Superintendent, as a special favour, to take his photograph, to the amusement and delight of the whole school. The practical outcome of this feeling is, that it makes it easier for the authorities to keep a watch over ex-pupils, whose whereabouts would, perhaps, be otherwise unknown.

Another strong point to be noted in the Madras school is in its administration. The Superintendent is a commissioned medical officer; while the Deputy Superintendent, who is the chief and permanent executive officer, is recruited from the Educational Department, and in all matters affecting the control of the school, the Director of Public Instruction is the responsible officer. On the other hand, in other reformatories, I believe I am right in saying that the medical officer is only in medical charge, while the Superintendent is a member of the Uncovenanted Civil Service.

II.

AIM OF THE SCHOOL.

THE aim of the school is to detain a boy for a period sufficiently long to enable him to receive an industrial education, an elementary general education, and to develop him physically and morally—in short, to equip him for the battle of life. As these boys have to earn their livelihood by manual labour, the first step is to assist nature to endow a boy with a strong bodily frame, capable of standing exertion. Physical training therefore forms an important part in the general scheme. As soon as a boy is admitted into the school, he is drafted for six months into the garden class for an open air course of training. He learns the elements of agriculture and the use of the spade, the shovel, and the mammoti ; and the whole class raises water for irrigation by means of a rope and leather water bag. This exercise helps at the very outset to develop the physique of the boys. It has the additional advantage of producing a very keen appetite, and very quickly reconciles them to the ragi diet, to which they are not accustomed in their own homes. Gymnastics, drill, football, and

other games help in the same direction, as also manual training.

Moral training is based on the broad principles of morality common to all religions, and care is exercised to infuse a moral ideal into the school and to create a good public opinion among the boys. At the same time, definite religious instruction is given according to the creed of the boy. The Muhammadan attends his mosque on Fridays, and recites daily in the school his evening prayer. The Hindu observes his occasional festivals, and is instructed in his religious duties by Hindu gentlemen, while the several denominations of Christians attend their respective churches. The moral lessons with which the school reading books are interspersed are impressed on the boys by frequent references to them. For the Sunday lesson, a moral story or principle is selected, bearing on every-day work, upon which a lesson is given with the help of the black-board. The pupils are questioned on the following day to see how much of the subject they have carried away. The importance of the Sunday lesson cannot be exaggerated, for it is found to be one of the most powerful means of elevating a boy's character. Singing of Tamil lyrics and of clean, high-toned songs to relieve the monotony, and the narration of interesting tales, with definite morals found necessary to correct juvenile delinquencies of the hour, lend additional interest to the lesson. A sense of loyalty to the British Raj is maintained with the aid of the Union Jack, which is hoisted on the anniversary days of the Royal Family, and on other high days. It is explained to the boys

that the flag stands "for justice, good government, and liberty." Miniature Union Jacks are also worn by the boys on Empire Day, and, at the conclusion of every festivity or gathering, the National Anthem is either sung or played by the boys.

In the training of the boys, a great deal depends on the personal influence of the Chief Supervising Officers, with whom they come in contact every day of their lives, and rules and regulations can have little effect without this vital aid to reformation. The Deputy Superintendent is the permanent and chief executive officer of the school at Chingleput, and resides among the boys. They look upon him as a father for the time being, speak of him as such, and his dwelling among them is tantamount to his being the head of the family. This domestic relationship is to be encouraged, for the finer feelings of a boy can never be brought out otherwise. "That we are members of one family," should form the basis of all reformatory work. Too much care therefore cannot be exercised in the selection of that officer, and if there is character behind the personality, no word of advice or warning can be lost upon the boys. Even in the selection of the lower subordinates it is necessary to exercise care, particularly if they reside within the precincts of the school. They should possess plenty of human sympathy, a happy temperament, tact, firmness and patience. In fact, a special training school is required to train teachers for expert work in Reformatory schools, but the number of these schools is too small to warrant such a step being taken at present. The pay also of

these men should be made progressive, and sufficiently encouraging to make the work they are engaged in a life work and a life study. Free quarters should also be furnished, to make up for the isolated life the staff is obliged to lead here.

Much is also done to develop character on the playground, and the games master, in the person of the European Sergeant, by a judicious handling and control of the boys during recreation hours, wields an additional power for good in that direction. Boys, especially of this class, in competitive games, easily lose their temper, and cannot take their defeat with a good grace. The checking of these and other undesirable qualities forms an important part of the moral scheme. The pupils are carefully supervised on the playground, where, in the society of companions of equal age and pursuits, their character and disposition are checked or developed. The use of obscene words or language, a prevailing fault in native boys, is summarily checked.

Reformation is also sought by training the pupils to habits of obedience, truth speaking, regularity, industry, order, cleanliness, and with the help of a judicious system of rewards and punishments. The reward is in the shape of a good conduct badge, if no punishment for an offence is recorded against the lad, and each badge has a monetary value attached to it. Half of the money thus earned can be spent for immediate purposes, as a boy appreciates the value of ready money a great deal more than the same amount of money locked up for future use. The portion banked

in his name teaches him, however, the lesson of thrift, and provides him with the means, when he leaves the school, of purchasing tools to start him in business. Drill is another element for moulding character, for inculcating the mechanical habits of smartness, order, physical development, and ready obedience. At the same time, it is a preliminary training for the army. It is true that not many of our boys enlist, and it is a great pity that it is so. The most critical period of a boy's life is from 18 to 21, immediately after restraint is removed. It is too much to expect a boy who is accustomed to be looked after and to have everything done for him, who is hedged in by rules and regulations for years, to keep straight when he is suddenly thrown into the world with no guiding hand or discipline of any kind. It is difficult for a boy who is more or less negatively good for fear of punishment to suddenly develop positive virtues; and to keep our ex-pupils under discipline there is nothing like the army, and, in the absence of compulsory enlistment, a society or philanthropic body of some kind is necessary to exercise a friendly supervision over them for two or three years after discharge, if the good work in the school is not to be undone. This point will be referred to again.

There are other minor aids to reformatory work, such as the magic lantern, to illustrate and impress moral truths on pupils. Concerts, theatrical performances and gramophone recitals also have a civilising influence, and help to counteract the dangers of the strain of criminality in their blood. The boys themselves

are able to stage a drama, and they do it most creditably. With coloured paper and tinsel, their workaday suits are transformed into garments which at night have all the charm and grace of princely robes, or are appropriate to the characters taking part in the play. The aim of the school is to make the boys happy and contented, but not at the expense of discipline or work. Games are introduced with a view to improve them physically and morally. And of all games, football seems to be the best adapted for a school of juvenile criminals. Their superfluous energy, which would otherwise be diverted into wrong channels, is worked off, their tempers are improved, and the game introduces a manly influence into the school. Great enthusiasm is always evinced on match days, and the players never know when to stop. I have always found that a boy given to football rarely thinks of stealing or pilfering, whatever wrong tendencies he may otherwise possess. One watches with amusement the pride a team takes to equip itself for a competition. They possess evidently a feeling for the charms of dress. Banians, purchased out of their own earnings, are worn, and handkerchiefs peep out at the neck. Sashes are arranged round the waist with tassels on the side, and, what is more important, the members of the team, by their combination and skill, are able to more than hold their own against a heavier and older one. They altogether take a pride in their play. Immediately after a match is won, they garland the 'head of the family,' and carry him upon their shoulders in triumph to his house.

On a Sunday afternoon, the boys have a walk out through the town or along the fields, and at times have a romp on the sands of the river. On several occasions they have been taken to see a circus, and on one occasion a picnic was organised to an experimental farm, but which, unfortunately, ended in disastrous results, by two boys eating datura seeds and nearly poisoning themselves !

III.

GENERAL TREATMENT ADOPTED IN RECLAMATION.

WHEN a boy is admitted into the school, particulars as to his residence, caste, parentage, previous occupation, his offence, the sentencing court, and his period of detention are recorded for guidance. He is allowed to correspond with his people as often as he likes, and his caste and previous occupation determine what trade he should be taught, though, as a rule, the choice is with him. It is inadvisable that a boy should be sent for a less period than four years, if he is to be taught a trade by which he may earn his bread. What constitutes a school offence, and the rewards and punishments open to the boy, are explained to him on the first day. If a boy does not commit an offence for a whole year he receives a good-conduct badge in the shape of an oblong piece of copper. These badges are prized for the money value attached to them, half of which may be spent in sweets, toys and other unforbidden articles, and, as was previously stated, the prospect of immediate use of money is a great incentive to right conduct. On the other hand, he is informed that misconduct will be punished at once and the smallest offences are visited with appropriate punishment, in

order that the association between wrong conduct and punishment may be fixed firmly in the minds of the boys. No offence is allowed to go unpunished, warnings being of no use except in a few exceptional cases. The discipline maintained is perhaps military in character, but this is necessary in dealing with a criminal population. "One offence, one punishment," is a good rule, and immediately the punishment is administered, the boy is made to feel that no grudge is borne against him, and that he is punished for the offence and not from any personal motive. This fact is impressed upon him by making him salute the person who punished him.

The chief supervising officers stand *in loco parentis*, and by private talk and conversation with individual boys try to mould their character. They give them occasional treats, and by specific acts of kindness show them their sympathy. A personal talk acts like a charm—it brings tears of contrition to the eyes of a boy, and the roughest character is softened down by such means, particularly if a close and friendly supervision is exercised over him. At all times individual attention should be paid to each boy, and proper treatment meted out to suit individual characters. Interviews with parents are freely granted the boys, and advantage is taken of their presence to inform them of their sons' conduct. If a boy's record is not a good one, the parent's counsel to the following tune follows :—

"What, my son! is this why I brought you forth into the world? Have you not learnt sense yet? If you behave properly and learn a trade, you are not going

to benefit us, but yourself. If you keep good, I shall come and see you again, and when you come out I shall get you married"—and so on.

Sometimes the scene of the meeting of parent and child is a heartrending one, and the interview ends with a promise from the son to behave better in future. Such visits help to keep alive a tender spark in the heart of the boy, and, for a similar reason, free correspondence under supervision is allowed by letter between parent and boy, however bad the boy may be. He is punished in various ways for his offences, but his correspondence is never stopped. Some officers hold a different view, and refuse all interviews for the first six months after admission; perhaps, because it is believed that a lad's mind becomes unsettled, and he gets home-sick, and attempts to abscond to his parents. There may be a little truth in this, but the compensation is too trifling to be considered, and, with proper guarding, escapes can be prevented.

During his stay in school, a boy is made to feel as happy as possible, but not at the expense of discipline. Nothing is done to lower him in his own eyes or in the eyes of the public. The convictions which were the cause of his detention in the school are forgotten, or are only remembered as symptoms of character. He is called by his name rather than by the number given him on his admission—in short, he is treated as a human being. In their work, the boys are associated with individuals who are their superiors, and the masters take part in their games and watch their conduct. Excepting new-comers, no check is placed

upon the movements of any boy during recreation hours.

The general education imparted to the boys is of a very elementary character, and is just sufficient to enable them to keep accounts, and to read and write their own vernacular. A few boys are taught colloquial English. The industrial training is intended to train the hand and eye, to teach the boys the use of tools and to enable them to earn a livelihood after their discharge. In their work, a sense of their abilities is aroused, and how those abilities may be used in making an honest living is demonstrated. In the present stage of India's economic condition, it is not desirable that machinery worked by power should be introduced into reformatory schools, at all events to any large extent, until the factory system develops and a demand arises for skilled artisans. A few of our boys who live in the big towns do get admission into the railway workshops, but the majority find their way back into the villages, and for these, hand labour is the best. It forms an excellent preparatory training to the handling of machinery, and a youth who is able to make things with his hands easily learns the use of machinery, and readily acquires skill in that direction. Then, with regard to hand labour: should the course be a manual training one, or should the boys work on industrial lines and turn out finished articles for sale? A medium course is, I think, the best. Take the carpentry department. The little boys would be trained to plane true, and make several joints to

scale. During the latter period of their course, they would take part, under the supervision of a maistry, in the making of a saleable article. This is a safe course to pursue. The boys here are not given any task work, but during training they are kept, or ought to be kept, under strict supervision ; after a time they get into the habit of work, and toil on without a sense of compulsion or even of control. If a reformatory boy is taught to work under these conditions, there is hope of his succeeding in life. But if he always feels control, then, on discharge, when he becomes a free agent, he goes to the bad. I approve also the plan of giving more hours to industrial work and less to general education to the outgoing boys ; the little boys receiving more general education and less industrial training.

A boy receives five hours of industrial and three hours of general education, and the majority of the pupils prefer industrial work to literary work. In reading, writing and arithmetic, the boys are above the level of ordinary Primary schools, thanks more to regular attendance and good discipline than to keener intellects ; but, at the same time, a visitor is struck with the brightness and animation of the boys. They are more interested in their work than one expects to find in a school composed of juvenile criminals. In certain directions, the intelligence of these boys is keen, *e.g.*, in learning gymnastics, intricate movements in drill, drawing and handwriting. The school has a reputation for good handwriting, and an Inspector of Schools, who wished to find out the secret of it, carefully observed the position and slope at which the boys held their pencils. He was

surprised to find that, with little stumps between their fingers, they held them at anything but the proper angle. An Inspector's visit does not create a flutter among the boys. They have vanity enough to try to show themselves at their best.

In regard to memory, it was found that about 30 per cent. of the pupils had bad memories ; and in the matter of attention, 36 per cent. were incapable of closely attending to the subject taught. Roughly, about one-third of the pupils are below the average intelligence of the ordinary school, and of these, some may be classed as degenerates.

An excellent library, consisting of Vernacular books, is attached to the school, as well as a museum, and boys have free access to both. Most of the reading is done by the boys during the holidays.

The present elastic curriculum and flexible course of study for Primary schools provides for a series of object lessons, for the teaching of which there are great facilities in the school. They are eminently suited for a special institution of this character, where practical work is so much insisted on, and the course of general education can thus be made to aid their practical work.

IV.

THE CHIEF CRIMINAL CLASSES REPRESENTED IN THE SCHOOL.

IN Southern India there are no criminal classes of the 'Jack Sheppard' type, and the so-called criminal classes are of the wandering type, who formerly carried on trade, but, with the advent of railways, took to thieving. For the purpose of helping them in their marauding practices, they ostensibly carry on a trade.

The chief criminal classes admitted are briefly referred to below.

THE KORAVAS.

Their chief occupation is either basket making or the selling of curry leaves. Although they are of Tamil origin, they use a language which is only familiar to themselves. They go from place to place selling little articles like beads, combs, etc., with the object of picking up information, to be turned to good account later on. As a rule, in school, the Koravas and other criminal classes are among the most well-behaved ; but on their discharge they are lost sight of, and evidently join the wandering gangs to which they previously belonged. A boy is usually discharged in the district to which he belongs, but it is not always so, for a cunning mother often comes to the school with the story that she has changed her residence, and asks that the boy be

discharged in the place where she now resides. The request is made with the object of preventing the whereabouts of the boy being traced. Compulsory emigration is put forward as a possible remedy for these boys, as their previous training is generally undone by their criminal parents. The Government have wisely ruled that, in the case of a pupil of the criminal class, the magistrate may dispose of him in such a way as to keep him apart from his former criminal associates, and without his parents' consent; but this is not always an easy matter. These boys can be turned to good account, provided always that they are kept away from their people. They are amenable to discipline, well behaved and pleasant in features. The usual report however we obtain about these boys after their discharge is that their "whereabouts cannot be traced," especially those from the N. Arcot and Kurnool Districts.

A few notes on individual cases of each class may give some idea of their character and mode of living.

(*Plate II*).—(1). Venkataswami, a Korava of Edayapattai in the Trichinopoly District, which is a great centre of crime. His parents are agriculturists. The boy left his house over some quarrel, and was convicted of theft of money on two occasions. In school he is of exemplary character, with no offence against his name. He takes a prominent part in all dramatic performances.

(2). Kora Muniswami also belongs to Edayapattai. He was sent for theft as an old offender. His people are engaged in agriculture. The boy rose to be assistant monitor, with no school offence on record. A serious going lad, and yet on the stage is full of wit.

PLATE II.

KORAVAS.

PLATE III.

(3). Subbayyan, a Korava of Edayapattai. This boy, six months after discharge, was bound over for one year and, failing to give security, was imprisoned.

(4). Kora Kuruppan, a native of Madura. The father was a swineherd, and the mother a basketmaker. The complainant in the case stated that she went to market, having bolted the outer door of her house, and, on return, found the accused leaving her house with one of her vessels. This boy was evidently used as a tool by his elders.

(5). Guruvadu belongs to Madras. His father is a seller of curry leaves. This boy attempted to abscond twice, being shy of civilising influences.

(6). Pakkiri, a Padayachi of S. Arcot, aged eleven years, both parents living, was sent for theft, after a previous conviction. His occupation was that of a cultivator. He had no school offence.

Pupil No. 745. Karuppan : father deceased, mother a ryot. Belongs to the Kavalkara, or watchmen, class of Koravas. Their duty is to protect the village against raids of robbers, for which work they are paid by the village officials, and, strange to say, this boy was sent to the school for actively aiding in a sheep raid!

Chinna Tangam (*Plate III*). The boy belongs to the gang of Koravas of Panchapandava Malai, in Arcot taluq. The gang was dispersed, many of them getting into jail, the father and elder brother of the boy being included. The father was in jail for five years, and soon after his release he came to pay his son here a visit, but was not recognised by him. His previous occupation was that of a beggar. He was sent here for theft in a

building, of a pair of shoes. The boy possesses a double shaped head (*see Plate IV*) and is semi-demented. He dances and sings, which was evidently the method by which he formerly obtained a livelihood. His skin is peculiar, and his fingers are well formed and taper like a lady's. On admission, his speech could not be understood, and even after picking up Tamil, his pronunciation is peculiar. He is a characteristic jungle boy, and eats occasionally sand and dirt. He attempted to make his escape once. Irritable in temper, he cannot stand teasing from the other boys, and at times even refuses to answer questions. He is still given to little acts of theft, and on one occasion, when he was given a plantain for the monkey of the school, the temptation to eat it himself proved too strong, and he yielded to it—which was perhaps an excusable offence.

The following are some of the feints practised by these boys to create an opportunity for stealing—

(*a*) A cry is raised that there is a snake on a tree. A crowd collects and a rogue then gets a chance of picking pockets.

(*b*) Native females are in the habit of washing and drying their clothes outside. A rogue passing along remarks, "I have often told these women not to dry their clothes outside," to make people passing along believe that he is the owner. He then collects them under his arm and walks away.

(*c*) A boy who knows how to swim throws himself into a stream, and a cry is raised that a boy is drowning, when a crowd collects and in the press pocket-picking goes on.

PLATE IV.

A JUNGLE BOY WITH A DOUBLE SHAPED HEAD.

PLATE V.

ODDAS.

THE ODDAS.

They are Telugus and their ordinary occupation is earth-work. They are very hardworking, and are somewhat handsome in features, but some of them have taken to thieving as their hereditary profession, for purposes of drink. With no fixed residence, they always resort to festivals to commit thefts in broad daylight. This particular caste is known as Pachipas.

(*Plate V*).—(1). Bona Lingadu, *alias* Lingayya, a Pachipa of Godaveri, aged thirteen years, both parents living, committed theft after two previous convictions. His previous occupation was that of an earth-work cooly. His school offences were, (1) tobacco, (2) absconding.

(2). Vadarangadu belongs to Gollapalliam, Tirutani, in North Arcot. He was sent here for theft, and, like many another boy of the criminal classes, is well behaved, and has no school offence against him. He had the misfortune to see his elder brother, an ex-pupil of this school, in the sub-jail situated within the precincts of the school.

(3). Subbadu, a Pachipa of Godaveri, aged nine, both parents living, was sent after a previous conviction, for having stolen, during a festival, a necklace worth Rs. 100 from a girl ten years of age. The boys of this class are trained to commit theft in the following manner :—They are let down by a rope into a well to be frightened into stealing, and at the same time are taught to say 'no,' to every question asked.

(4). Pasupuleti Kondadu is the nephew of the previous boy and brother of Venkanna, No. 7. He was sent here after a first conviction, being an accomplice in the

case of theft committed by Subbadu No. 6. Three boys in this group are related to one another.

(5). Nooka Yalabanda, a Telega (or Odda) of Guntur, 13 years, both parents living, was sent on a first conviction of theft. His previous occupation was that of a cattle-grazer. He belongs to a wandering gang of thieves, and has no school offences.

(6). Subban, of Madura, aged fourteen years, both parents living, was sent to the school after two previous convictions, (1) theft, (2) housebreaking and theft in a building.

(7). Thota Venkanna, *alias* Gondra Subbadu. He was convicted of theft after a previous conviction. There was one tobacco offence against him in school. This boy, on discharge, was promised employment by the magistrate as a sawyer in a workshop at Cocanada. Meanwhile, the boy who had been told to return, soon disappeared, and when traced by the police was found in criminal gang 42, his father and mother being in the gang. He then expressed his willingness to accept a Government post, but rather than do any other honest work, he preferred to remain with his parents. A boy with such antecedents and convictions, the magistrate said, he could not recommend for a Government post, and pointed out to him that he was likely to spend a great deal of his life in jail, if he chose to continue with his parents. He was absolutely unmoved and was described as having an evil countenance. The magistrate thought that there was little hope of making a decent member of society of him, and that a boy with such connections should never have been sent to

the reformatory. He was allowed to return to the gang, where he could easily be traced.

THE DASARIS.

The Donga Dasaris are also called Kattira Dasaris and Golla Dasaris. Pocket-picking is the usual avocation of the youngsters of this class.

Adigadu. This boy tried to steal clothes from a house at the corner of a village, and at a time in the early morning when most people would be out. He stated that his mother had been deserted by his father, and was begging in a village. He was one of the few who died in the school. He suffered from heart disease, a common complaint among criminals.

Avula Subbadu, a Kattira Dasari from the Nellore district—(Kattira=Scissors). The Kattira boys are such hardened criminals by early training that it is almost impossible to reform them. This school has therefore little effect upon them.

Kottadu. He belongs to the Mattupalli Donga Dasaris. Mattupalli is situated in the Kurnool district, which is considered to be one of the worst thieving centres in the Presidency. These Dasaris adopt several false names. They are a notorious gang of thieves, and from Mattupalli, which is their den, they extend their depredations to distant districts, under various guises and false names, for they do not give out their true names. Kottadu was a semi-demented boy, who said he belonged to the Telega (or Telugu) caste, and that his people were labourers, his previous occupation being that of a cowherd. This boy was the cause of making me jump out of bed one night when

an unearthly scream from fifty voices awoke me. He imagined he saw the ghost of a boy who had died the previous day, and gave the alarm.

Narayanaswamy, *alias* Mancotti, is a Batturaja (*Plate VI*), which is a criminal class. They are a Telugu speaking race, and earn their livelihood by keeping petty bazaars, or as cooly masons. Some of them also are accountants and clerks. They try to pass off sometimes as Brahmans by wearing the sacred thread, and other outward signs. This boy is 12 years of age, both parents deceased. He committed theft in three buildings on three several occasions. A characteristic feature of the boy is his rolling eyes.

Having described a few pupils of the criminal classes, some noteworthy examples of other classes will now be dealt with.

CRIMINAL TYPES OF OTHER CLASSES.

Swaminathan (*Plate VII*, *1 and* 2). A Roman Catholic native Christian, of doubtful parentage. He was a Brahman by birth, sold as an orphan by his mother to a Reverend Father, when he became a Christian. At 8 years of age, he seems to have developed a disposition to wander and steal. He seems to be devoid of all sense of morality, but curious enough, he is at times pious. He is very artful in his ways, and knows how to ingratiate himself into the good graces of those with whom he is thrown. He is very obliging by nature, but his tendency to steal is ineradicable. He is a boy of poor physique, but intelligent. His school offences are (1) disobeying the Serjeant, (2) stealing a piece of cloth, (3) entering a garden and

PLATE VI.

A BATTURAJA.

PLATE VII.

CRIMINAL TYPES.

cutting flowers. I am tempted to refer to a little incident connected with this lad. The Superintendent of the Museum at Madras was once kind enough to send a few pigeons as pets for the boys. Swaminathan, who knew English most, was asked to write and thank him for his kindness. The second sentence of his letter was, "We pray God He will make you more honest." The letter, of course, was not sent, but Mr. Thurston, I think, would have enjoyed its contents most.

Karuppan (*Plate VII, 3 and 4*). This boy was sent here at the age of 12, charged with the murder of a little girl 2½ years of age, for the sake of her ornaments, worth from two to four rupees. His statement proved that he was aware that his action was a punishable offence, for he appears to have decoyed the girl to the vicinity of a well, where he deprived her of her paltry jewels and then pushed her in. He hid the jewels in a prickly pear bush and then, presumably to avoid being questioned, he went off to his aunt's garden which was some little distance away. He is a Vellala by caste, of the Coimbatore district, and a shepherd by occupation. His school offences were, (1) Striking his class monitor; (2) Entering the kitchen and stealing boiled dal; (3) Disrespect to the Jemadar. He is rather a quick-tempered boy.

BOYS SENT HERE FOR COUNTERFEITING COINS.

These boys all come from the Bijapur District in the Bombay Presidency. These chapper bands leave their homes in the Bombay Presidency after the rains, about September or October, to practise their calling. Laying aside their ordinary Muhammadan dress, they

assume the dress and appearance of fakirs, and unaccompanied by their women, wander from village to village, begging as they travel, women and simple country folks being their victims. This is the way they palm off their counterfeit coins. The false coins are kept in pockets in their waist cloths or *langotis*. They offer copper for a silver piece, and this, by sleight of hand, they change for a counterfeit silver coin, which they return as bad, thus getting back their copper coins.

Their stock-in-trade consists of earth for making moulds, stone for polishing coined rupees, filings of pewter or lead, a file for milling, tongs and pincers, gum for joining the halves of the moulds, a melting ladle, and a die for making false rupees. The father of one of the boys sent here was discovered with a cavity inside for a storage capacity of 100 rupees. I believe the cavity is formed and gradually enlarged by means of pebbles placed in the lower bowel, the pebbles gradually being increased in size. This fact was discovered by the man sitting uncomfortably.

The boys shewn in *Plates VIII and IX* were all sent for having counterfeit coins in their possession. Muhammadans by nationality, their people, to escape detection, live on the borderland between the Nizam's Dominions and the Bombay Presidency. Some of them are familiar with Canarese and extend their depredations into Mysore territory.

Krishnaiyar (*Plate X*, 1), a Brahman of Tinnevelly. He was guilty of a series of thefts of three watches and three time-pieces. He entered a house for alms, and when the occupant went inside to fetch him something,

PLATE VIII.

A GROUP OF COUNTERFEITERS.

PLATE IX.

A GROUP OF MUHAMMADAN COUNTERFEITERS.

PLATE X.

BRÁHMAN JUVENILE OFFENDERS.

PLATE XI.

JUVENILE MURDERERS.

he disappeared with a watch or time-piece lying on the table. The boy is intelligent and gave an intelligent story of his chequered career in Ceylon, where he had been sold to a coffee planter. That gentleman took pity on him and sent him back to India.

Garimella Ramamurti (*Plate X*, 2), a Brahman of Vizagapatam, aged 12, both parents living, was convicted of house-breaking and theft after three previous convictions. His father is a gumasta, and his uncle a police inspector. His school offences were six tobacco offences, and one of stealing brinjals. In all dramatic performances, he takes the part of a clown.

Yedla Daligadu, a Kapu, of Chicacole (*Plate XI*, 1). His first conviction was at the age of 11. Three boys went out together to cut grass and to play. As one of them had not returned for his midday meal, the father went to look for him and found he was unable to speak, being badly cut about the neck and lower part of the skull. Two gold earrings which he had been wearing were gone. The other two were pointed out by the injured child as having cut him with a hoe. Trephining had to be resorted to, but he died the same evening. The accused admitted having taken the earrings and beaten the boy with a hoe and spade, because he said he would tell his father. There were six gaping, incised wounds on the back of the child's head. In spite of their youth, both the accused (the name of the other being Latchigadu, aged 12 (*Plate XI*, 2), are precocious urchins, so says the Court, and were perfectly self-possessed, answering questions with the utmost readiness. Whatever the immediate cause of the quarrel

may have been, it was clear that they meant to cause the child such severe bodily injury as was very likely to cause his death, and the only difference in their favour on account of their youth was in the Judge not inferring (as in the case of an adult) that they *knew* that they were likely to cause his death.

(*Plate XII*, No. 1). Koyya Pentayya, a Reddi, of Cocanada. He has eleven punishments against his name: three for snuff, one for escaping from school, one for disobedience to his instructor, four for stealing (in one case, he climbed over the garden wall and stole sugar-cane), one for fighting, and one for eating datura seeds and almost poisoning himself. Emetics promptly administered in the last case brought him round.

No. 2. Venkataraju. His father is a cultivator, and his brother a police constable. By caste, a Kshatriya of Godaveri. He broke into the house of the Haveli Rajah of Peddapur, after scaling a wall, broke open a large box and a small one inside it with a large stone pestle and stole jewels valued at Rs. 180. He had previously been employed as a servant in the house and had been dismissed. During his trial he showed perfect indifference, and he was judged to be on the highway to become a hardened criminal. His school offences are, (1) forging a letter purporting to have come from his father; (2) found in possession of two books, an aluminium holder and two needles; (3) stealing mangoes; (4) fighting; (5) climbing over the garden wall and stealing sugar-cane; (6) getting over the boundary wall and being found in possession of money. He was not punished for the last offence because he begged to be

PLATE XII.

A GROUP OF TELUGU JUVENILE OFFENDERS.

PLATE XIII.

MADRAS ROGUES.

forgiven, promising faithfully he would not offend again. As caning evidently did him no good, he was let off with a warning, and he kept straight as a result of his promise. Call this moral vanity, self-respect engendered by trust, or whatever you will, it is a characteristic trait found in the worst types of juvenile criminals.

No. 3. Kanakkayya. A Nagara by caste, of the Kistna district. Sent here for theft. His offences in school were (1) conniving at another pupil scratching the paint off a carriage, (2) two years later, conniving at another pupil stealing a papayya. He was a cunning lad, who rose to be an assistant monitor, and when found amongst a group of boys at anything irregular, he would take off his monitor's cap to escape detection at a distance.

No. 4. Penimiti Peddigadu, a Balija Kapu, of Vizagapatam, 14 years old, mother living. He was convicted of theft, after 4 previous offences. His previous occupation was that of a cigarette-roller and his school offences were, (1) found in possession of snuff ; (2) eating datura seeds.

Tammayya. A Nagara by caste, of Kistna district. His previous occupation was that of a bricklayer's assistant. His offences in school were, (1) biting another pupil rather severely; (2) found in possession of snuff.

Subbrayan (*Plate XIII*, No. 1). He is a typical specimen of a Madras rogue, by caste a Mudali. Father deceased, mother a bazaar-woman. Previous occupation, a cooly hand in the Buckingham Mill. He was

sent here for a first offence. His school offences are, (1) telling a lie; (2) neglecting work constantly; (3) striking a smaller boy in class; (4) found in possession of tobacco.

Sadasivan (*Plate XIII*, No. 2), a Kamala by caste, of Chulai. Previous occupation, a goldsmith. Sent for committing theft in a building, after a previous conviction. School offences, (1) found in possession of a lump of lead; (2) implicated in a case where a new pair of bellows worth Rs. 40 was ripped open in order that some snuff secreted within might be got at. Poor in physique and sly by nature, there is small hope of this boy's reformation.

The majority of the pupils admitted into the school have been sent for some petty offence of theft and therefore are capable of being reformed, but there are some habitual offenders who are likely to retard the work of reformation. It is a matter for consideration whether the latter should not be in a separate institution where very strict discipline is maintained and the mode of treatment is suitable for such characters. The different dispositions of these two classes would seem to point to the necessity for at least two grades of institutions, one being reserved for the more vicious, and the other for the less criminally inclined. The more complete the segregation of the various classes from one another, the better would be the results in the work of reclaiming juvenile offenders. This matter will be referred to again.

Moreover, no work of reformation can be complete without a separation of the junior from the senior boys,

and the reasons for it are so obvious that they need not be stated. Most of the cases of fighting between the senior boys is caused by the small boys and their undesirable friendship with the bigger boys, and however strict the supervision may be over the two divisions to keep them apart during work and play hours, evil is at work in a number of indirect ways. Little boys are made use of to secrete contraband articles, and they give away a portion of their food to big boys who consent to wash their clothes for them. The conversation also of the big ones is not very edifying for the smaller ones.

V.

AN ORDINARY WORKING DAY.

THERE is not a sound to disturb the peaceful quietness that reigns at night, except the rush of a passing train, or the distant cry of a jackal, and a stranger entering the premises at that time is unconscious that two hundred little minds, bent on mischief of some kind, are in a state of quiescence. At 5 A.M. the bugle sounds the *reveille*, when the boys get off their hammocks, tidy their blankets and clothes ; and at the first glimmer of daylight the unlocking takes place and the dormitories disgorge their living. The boys are marched off to perform their ablutions, twigs of branches, charcoal, and red brick dust serving as tooth brush and powder. A gang of boys is told off to do the sweeping up of the place and the brooms go 'swish, swish,' the monotony being relieved occasionally by the appealing, yet authoritative, tone of the duffadar crying out, 'who is there ?' to some figure lurking under the shadow of a tree. Then comes the opportunity for a villain to pay off old scores towards another boy or a member of the guarding staff. The unlocking and locking up is and should be done quietly, in order, and with the least amount of friction. After

a small repast, consisting of a 5 oz. ragi chapatti and some pickle, the boys are marched off at 6 A.M. to their respective industries, and continue to work till 9-30. Between 9-30 and 10-30 breakfast is served, each boy getting a 2 lb. ragi pudding with some vegetables and dal in the shape of a curry. They are at general education work from 10-30 to 1-30, after which an hour is devoted to recreation; the boys do industrial work again from 2-30 to 4-30. The half-hour before 5 P.M. is given to drill and gymnastics. Bathing, and the evening meal, which is similar to the morning one, is finished by 6 o'clock, and at 7 the boys are locked in, but are allowed to talk till the 'last post' is sounded at 8 P.M. Night school for the preparation of lessons is held from 7 to 8. For a change, rice is given as a diet twice a week (generally on a Sunday or festival day), mutton twice a week, and fish once a week. The daily routine of duty changes on Sunday. From 6 to 8 A.M. there is general cleaning up, and during the next hour the pupils are marched to the tank to wash their suits. After the morning meal, the Sunday moral lesson is given in English and translated into Tamil and Telugu, one section being seated apart from the other. The blackboard is made use of for the illustrations and the moral truths to be drawn. The boys are next busy, dusting and airing their hammocks, washing out dormitories or playing at games till the bugle sounds for drill at 3 P.M., the whole school taking part in it. There is generally a march past, a little doubling, and physical drill. Once a month battalion exercises are performed.

After the evening meal, the boys are marched out for a three-mile-walk to the sound of drums and bugles.

On festival days, the boys look forward to a special diet and an oil bath, no food being taken till the bathing is done. One boy helps another in working in the oil, when the head, the eyes and the ears receive special attention.

On the festival day (*Ayudhapuja*) when tools are blessed, with a view to prevent accidents and to good work being turned out, the boys vie with each other in decorating their several shops. Beaten rice, cocoanuts, sugar, plantains and flowers are placed in front. Turmeric and red aniline powder are moistened and besmeared over the several tools, incense and camphor are lighted and sandalwood is handed round to the participators in the feast. The head of the school is garlanded and each boy receives a share of the things offered up in sacrifice.

During the Christmas holidays, which is the longest vacation of the school, the boys spend the morning in cleaning up the place and in gardening. In the evening the football matches between the various trades for the challenge shield are arranged. The middle of the day is spent in writing letters home and to friends, in reading books from the library, or in preparations for staging a drama. Some few make rough sketches from nature, and the rest spend their time in games like marbles, tops, kites, tipcat, *gusti* (wrestling), etc., and, I am sorry to add, gambling also takes place with button rings, marbles and sweets.

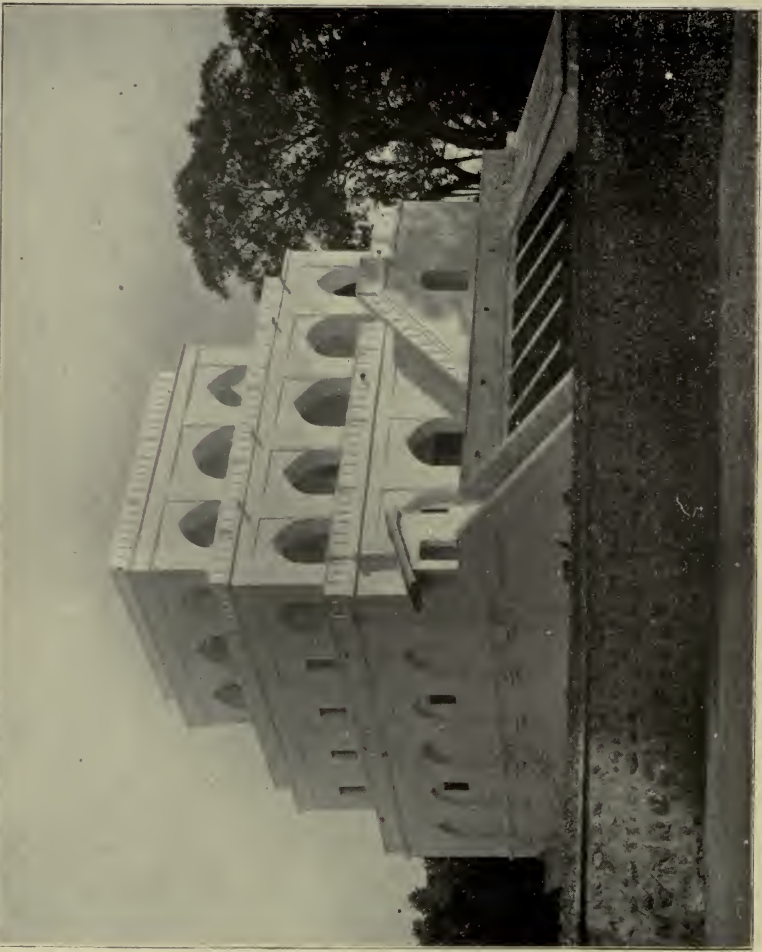
Pallanguli and *gudugudu-chaplam* are typical national games played by the boys, the former being a sedentary game, and the latter demanding some physical strength. In *pallanguli*, 14 holes are arranged in two rows of 7 each, and a certain equal number of tamarind or other kind of seeds is placed in each hole. The seeds from the first hole are taken and dropped into succeeding holes one by one. The seeds of the hole, next to the one in which the last seed was dropped, are then taken and the same process goes on, till the player chances to drop a last seed just before an empty hole, in which case he takes as his gain the seeds of the succeeding hole and the hole opposite it.

In *gudugudu-chaplam*, sixteen boys take sides and a line of demarcation is drawn across. A boy issues forth from the ranks of one party and advances into the field of the other, holding his breath and repeating the word "gudugudu." He is expected to get back into his ground after touching a boy and without being seized himself or taking breath ; otherwise he is counted 'dead.' After a given time the side with the larger number of 'living' is declared the winner.

THE SITE OF THE SCHOOL.

The health of Chingleput is generally remarkably good ; this fact, and the presence of land available within the fort, which is washed on one side by a large tank, were the determining factors in the location of the Reformatory for Southern India in this town, which is conveniently situated from Madras. The existence of certain buildings formerly used as a district jail were taken advantage of and altered for the object in view ;

PLATE XIV.



RAJ MAHAL, CHINGLEPUT.

but the building known as the "Raj Mahal" *(Plate XIV)* continued to be used as a subsidiary jail, and as the boundary wall of the Reformatory was extended, it brought the sub-jail within its limits, thereby introducing into the school an island of criminal territory. For various reasons, this is objectionable, and Government have decided upon the location of the sub-jail elsewhere, and the demolition of the "Raj Mahal" for the purpose of extending the limited accommodation of the school. This building, which is in the form of a car, is the last architectural remains of the Vijianagar line of Kings, and originally consisted of five storeys in cake form, two of which were subsequently pulled down. The unusual height of the structure was due to the fact that the Ranees of the palace desired to worship daily, facing the temple at Conjeeveram, with its towers in sight, and without the personal discomfort to themselves of attendance at its shrine, especially on festival days. The time of the *puja* was announced to the Ranees by means of drums beaten on the tops of towers erected at intervals of four miles on the Conjeeveram road. The dismantling, therefore, of this old building naturally raises a cry of horror at the spirit of vandalism abroad which has none too soon received a check in India at the hands of Lord Curzon, and memorialists have petitioned the Government against the removal of a landmark of the place. This quaint, solid structure is composed of a series of arcades of Moorish arches, surrounding a small inner dome-shaped room, with not a single piece of wood in its entire construction. On a bright day it dazzles the eye when the rays of the

sun scintillate upon its lime-washed walls, and on a moonlight night, one can picture on the terrace the little Ranees, with their garlands of oleander and jessamine, playing and singing to the accompaniment of music.

Since writing these lines, I hear that orders have been passed to stop the demolition of the Raj Mahal, as it is considered to be the best architectural example of the Vijianagar period.

PLATE XV.

THE WEAVING SHED.

VI.

THE WEAVING DEPARTMENT.

Of all the industries taught in the school, weaving takes first place, both as regards equipment and outturn of work. And it is in keeping with the economic condition of the country that this industry should occupy a position of first importance, for the hand to mouth existence of six millions of weavers in India makes the problem a pressing one. Technical and Industrial schools are doing something towards helping the hand-loom industry, and the Reformatory School at Chingleput may justly congratulate itself on the well-trained pupils it turns out year after year, several of whom occupy the position of maistries in the weaving schools and hand-loom factories of the Presidency. Most of the work done in India is plain-weaving, so that the skill of the Indian weaver, beyond a certain amount of dexterity in weaving, is nothing to speak of. Hence the low wages which he can command.

The Reformatory School, on the other hand, tries to improve the skill of the boys in weaving, and has for its object the training of boys in the *art* of weaving. The aim is not only to give the pupil a certain amount of dexterity in weaving, but what is far more important, to

help him to determine what changes are necessary to produce a certain effect. Take one class of cloth, *viz.*, towelling. A boy is able to produce any design, within certain limits, on the cloth he wishes to weave. He knows what changes are necessary in the tieing and treadling motion to form a diaper pattern or honeycomb weave. He is, moreover, familiar with the defects in cloth manufacture, and is able to remedy them. In short, he has complete control over the loom. Bring him a sample cloth, and he will produce it on the loom. This is the aim, or rather should be the aim, of every school which proposes to train pupils in weaving.

Then again, although one cannot get over the fact that a hand-loom is a hand-loom, and that there is no middle course between a hand-loom and a power-loom, still the school believes in an equipment consisting of various forms of looms, not so much for the sake of the slender increase in the outturn, as for the excellent training it gives in stimulating the boys to think over the mechanism of the loom and the possibility in the direction of progress and improvement. But this fact has to be constantly kept in mind, namely, that the simpler the improvement, the greater the chance of its success. No advantage is gained in making an ingenious form of loom, which has all the parts of a power loom, *minus* the motive power. The expense increases without a proportionately corresponding increase in work.

If any money is to be put into a weaving concern, it should be in the direction of improving the preliminary processes, *viz.*, warping and sizing. The native system

PLATE XVI.

A CARVED ROSEWOOD BOOKSHELF AND MEDICINE CHEST COMBINED.

PLATE XVII.

SIDE VIEW OF SHELF AND CHEST.

is far too slow to make a commercial success of any business. There is a wrong idea amongst laymen that the better the sizing the stronger the cloth. The chief object of sizing is to give the yarn sufficient strength to be woven into cloth, and once that object is gained, no further result is looked for. The Reformatory can never undertake the manufacture of warps by machinery. That must be left to private agency, which should have for its object the preparation of short warps to meet the needs of hand-loom weavers.

THE CARPENTRY DEPARTMENT.

This department is second to the weaving in outturn of work and is very popular with the boys. There is no manual instruction syllabus prepared for the guidance of the instructors, but certain broad principles are followed in the work. A boy is taught to use the chisel, the plane and the saw, the very best tools being given him. He next learns to sharpen his tools and acquires facility in joinery and cabinet-making. The senior boys are taught drawing to scale and working these out in wood. No set form of exercises is given, but after the principal joints have been mastered, the boy is put to turning out articles for sale, and as an inducement for good work, he is given a quarter of the profit. Good supervision and discipline, however, on the part of the instructor form the main elements of success in a class composed of juvenile criminals. The piece of woodwork shown in the illustration (*Plates XVI and XVII*) was executed by the boys, under the supervision of the drawing master and the carpenter maistry, for the Fine Arts Exhibition held annually in Madras, and gained a

bronze medal. It displays the usual feature of Dravidian carved work. As a rule, the school goes in for plain solid work and supplies much of its own needs.

THE REFORMATORY BAND.

Among the special features of the school, the reformatory brass band may be mentioned. Besides helping in the matter of physical drill and marching, it has a value of its own in cultivating a refined taste among the boys. In my frequent talks with the bandmaster I was able to gather the following notes from him as to his method of work. The boys, he informed me, naturally had a longing for Indian music, and this had to be stamped out. They could not appreciate European music until it was explained to them that European music was an elevating art, that each piece of music had a different story to tell, that each was a story in melody, that these stories were either songs of joy or sorrow. It was further explained that music was also associated with prayer and thanksgiving to God, that when the earth would be destroyed, all the arts and sciences would be destroyed with it excepting music, which will live in the hereafter. Then it was noticed that the boys (even those of the rough order) would glow with enthusiasm and with a desire to do better than they had done, perhaps, under the impression that they might stand a better chance in the next world, owing to the fact of being band-boys ! Explanations of this sort were found necessary to create an interest in their work, and with practice and experience most of the boys could tell when a wrong note was played or when a mistake was made. Then came the desire to hear other bands

PLATE XVIII.

THE REFORMATORY BAND.

play, which desire could not be gratified owing to the peculiar character of the school.

It may perhaps be asked whether it is a difficult matter to teach European music to juvenile criminals. It is well known that caste Hindus, whatever their predilections may be as regards hearing music, do not take part in performances of music. The high-caste Hindu therefore will not join a band because it is *infra dig.* to his caste. As a result, the band, including the buglers, is composed of low-caste Hindus, or Pariahs, Native Christians and Muhammadans. Occasionally, a high-caste Hindu will volunteer for the band, and his intelligence helps him to acquire a taste for music. It was noticed that the Muhammadans were musically inclined, although not as intelligent as the Hindus. The Panchamas were slow. The Native Christians learn quickly and make first-rate musicians, but they are, as a rule, lazy. In recruiting boys for the band, the method adopted was to get a newly selected boy to sing a Tamil, Telugu or Hindustani song, as the case may be, and if he sang tunefully he was selected. If, however, after being tutored for a month or two he was found to be dull, he was rejected. In course of time the boys became so interested in their performance that they frequently requested to know the meaning of the piece of music they were about to perform. To mention one instance. Before playing a march entitled "Viscount Nelson" (some of the boys could read English), the class wished to know who Viscount Nelson was. They were told briefly the story of this great sailor and his deeds of valour, and how he was shot down on the deck of his

ship after a most glorious victory, and how the whole of England mourned over his loss. The boys seemed to be very much affected, and always played the march after that with great spirit, and tried their best to put into it all the expression they possibly could. From this it may be seen how these boys (although criminals) are susceptible of enthusiasm, and how by a little tact, their tender or proud feelings can be drawn out, and how easily they are melted or inflamed. That these boys are capable of learning European music with some amount of success can be proved by comparing them with the band boys of the Orphan Asylums, which are composed entirely of European or Eurasian lads, and the verdict of opinion is in their favour, notwithstanding the fact that Native boys always find a difficulty in memorising minor scales, and that they have not the inbred instinct of playing or singing in parts.

VII.

THE MONITORIAL SYSTEM.

THIS system works excellently. About five per cent. of the best behaved boys are appointed assistant monitors, and three per cent., full monitors. The latter wear a blue cap with a red band, and the former a white cap with a red band and, in addition, the star of their office. A monitor can earn twice as much money, and an assistant, one and a-half times as much as an ordinary boy. There is therefore great competition among the boys for the position, and much heart-burning among those who think they have a slender claim and who fail to obtain it. They court favour, or "catch crows," as the Tamil language expresses it, by presenting small bouquets of flowers collected from their own plots of garden to those in whose gift the honour lies. But on no account should a suspicious or bad character be made a monitor, in the fond hope that the position may help to steady his character. The risks are too great. Outwardly, perhaps, for a time there is a change, but his increased powers will sooner or later land him in grief. A monitor holds immense power for good or evil. He helps to maintain the discipline of the school, takes part as a pupil-teacher in the work of the school, acts as a section commander on parade, and is generally

responsible for the good behaviour of the boys in school and out of school. In fact, the monitors create the public opinion of the school. At times, however, they overstep their limit of authority and take the law into their own hands and punish a boy for an offence. Little harm results from this, but a more serious drawback is that a boy's head is sometimes turned when he becomes a monitor. He assumes a false pride, uses his authority in a wrong direction and gets into trouble. On the whole, the system works well, and affords an excellent training for boys to get accustomed to responsibility before they obtain their freedom, and to ensure success they should be mustered frequently and told their duties. If a good selection be made of these monitors, the tone of the school is bound to improve, and the help given to the authorities is not to be ignored.

Plate No. XXIII shows a group of monitors, and from their history it will be seen that several of them are first offenders.

THE LICENSING SYSTEM.

All countries recognise the good which results from this system. It places a boy, a year or two before he leaves a reformatory, in a social environment which he will experience when he is finally discharged, and he is for this reason better prepared to withstand the temptations of life. But the weak point about it is that employers of labour do not, in the first place, possess the facilities for the exercise of the closest scrutiny over a boy's conduct during his off time, nor do they take the same interest which the school authorities evince in supervising him during the recreation

hours. Frequent reports have been received of boys who have been put out on license lapsing into crime, and unless an employer of labour is prepared to look after his apprentices during the non-working hours, or some scheme is devised to place such under control during their period of apprenticeship, the licensing system defeats the object it has in view. What is wanted is a philanthropic body which will interest itself in looking after the morals, not only of our licensed pupils, but also of ex-pupils, till such time as they are able to control themselves. A boy out on license has the widest possible liberty, and his opportunities of mixing with the world are many. He therefore needs to be watched. I remember a lad (*see Plate XXV*) who came up before the Committee of Visitors, requesting them to put him out on license to a tailor firm, on the ground that he had learnt all that was to be learnt in the school, and he wished to learn the higher grades of work, for which there was no scope in the school. He also represented that he had a little less than a year for his discharge, and as he had no parents living, he would continue to stay on with the firm. The boy spoke with plenty of common-sense and his reasons were sound. He was sent out at his request, but within twenty days he was sent back to the school as a failure, having picked the pocket of the proprietor and eased him of a ten rupee note. There was temptation placed before the boy, and being weak willed, he yielded to it. The licensing system therefore proves a success or failure according to the supervision or want of supervision that exists in places of business. In the Burham Reformatory of New

Zealand, the licensing system works very well. A large number of lads become useful citizens through the training they receive while out at service under license, and the control of the reformatory. The earnings of the boys are put into the State savings bank, and are paid over to such of them who, in after years, can produce evidence to the satisfaction of the Minister of Education that the money will be well invested in sound business pursuits.

In the Alipore reformatory school, Calcutta, 49 boys out of 204 were under license during the year 1906. The boys were housed and fed at the school and escorted to and from the place of employment daily: among such classes of boys there was no failure. At one place of business, an officer was appointed to maintain discipline among them and to supervise generally the mode of living, out of working hours, of the boys. There were no failures also in this case. The licensed boys who live at the place of employment are provided with food and clothing, or wages, and free quarters. With regard to apprenticeship in India, it must be observed that the peculiar conditions of the country do not necessitate any great demand for apprentices. In India, labour is cheap and easily procurable and the necessity for apprentices cannot exist largely.

SUPERVISION AT NIGHT.

The pupils are separated from each other, and four monitors are put in charge of a dormitory to keep order and to assist in the work of supervision. The dormitories are lighted and any irregularities that take

place are soon detected by the peons, who patrol the place at night and are relieved of their watch every three hours. The Deputy Superintendent and the Sergeant make surprise visits, to keep the peons up to the mark. In jails, the tell-tale clock system is used, but as the price of a clock is very high and the instrument is liable to get out of order, it has not found favour in the school, particularly as it is not found to be absolutely necessary. It would be much to be perferred if one of the masters could be told off to sleep with the boys. The experiment was tried and was given up because it was a hardship to non-resident masters to take their bed in school. But the present system of supervision by peons and monitors has worked well, and few irregularities have been reported or are suspected of having taken place.

VIII.

THE VARIOUS CASTES IN THE SCHOOL.

THE three great classes in the school are the Tamils, the Telugus and the Mussalmans, and of these the Telugus are in every way superior to the others. They are well behaved, fairly intelligent, and possess a better physique than the Tamilians. They have also more grit and energy about them, and are more competent to fill the position of monitors. Statistics were taken with regard to the weight, height and chest measurements of the several classes in the school between the ages of 14 and 18, and it was found that the Telugus showed the greatest development. The subjoined table represents the increase in four years, in height, weight and chest measurements :—

	Height.	Weight.	Chest.
Muhammadans	7·1	24·3	4·7
Tamils	7·0	25·5	5·3
Telugus	7·3	27	5·2

A master in charge of the Telugu section of the school confirmed my experience of this class. Accord-

ing to him, Telugu boys are obedient, simple and honest. They generally have a pleasant countenance, and do not commit any serious offence—in fact, excepting petty quarrels, their history sheets are clean as regards offences. They speak the truth as a rule, and are far less cunning than the Tamilians. In after life, also, they do well.

As the history of every boy is noted down for the guidance of the authorities who are concerned in the development of the character and in the industrial training of reformatory youths, an acquaintance with the customs and habits of the various castes is very necessary for a record of that history. The following brief notes will be of use to those who have to do with the juvenile criminal in Southern India :—

TAMIL CASTES.

Paraiyan.—The Paraiyan, Pallan and the Valluvan are the castes of the Tamil speaking population that are supposed to carry pollution. They may not approach the Brahman and the high class Sudras and Vellalas. Ordinarily, these castes live in separate quarters (paracheri) away from the main village.

Though the anglicised term *Pariah* is ordinarily applied to all the lowest castes, the term *Paraiyan* is the name of a distinct caste speaking Tamil. This word *Paraiyan* is said to be derived from the Tamil word *Parai*, a drum, as certain Paraiyans act as drummers at funerals and marriages.

The Paraiyan may easily be spotted by his Tamil, as it is very vulgar, and hence the proverb *Parappechchu arappechchu* (Paraiyan speech is but half speech).

A number of sub-divisions is said to exist among these people, but those of Chingleput and North Arcot call themselves Tangalan Paraiyans.

A Paraiyan annually becomes husband of Egattal, a village deity of Georgetown, and during the festival a Paraiyan is said to tie the *tali* round the neck of the image. During car festivals, it is said that Paraiyans are allowed to take part in pulling the cars of the idols at Conjeeveram and Srivilliputtur, etc.

Taken as a class, these are purely agricultural labourers doing the dirtiest and the most difficult part of the agricultural operations. They are law-abiding and peaceful, and do not indulge much in criminal acts of any kind. On the other hand, the Paraiyans about Cheyyur and Chunampet, and the Vepur Paraiyans, are notorious for theft, dacoity, etc.

They have a kind of social organisation headed by a man of their own caste. He is called Pannakkaran ; and in all tribal matters, his word is law. All workmen, such as washermen, barbers, etc., are all from their own caste, and they are in some places considered inferior to the ordinary Paraiyans, especially when they make shaving and washing their main profession. In several villages where there are no barbers who make it their profession, the Paraiyans shave one another.

Paraiyans are all worshippers of village deities, such as Mariamma, Muniswara, Gangamma, etc. There is free intercourse and intermarriage between the Christian and the heathen Paraiyans.

Rightly or wrongly, Cheyyur Paraiyans in the Chingleput District are considered to be a wicked lot. During

the hot weather, when they have no work to do, they take to thieving, especially during famine. The Vepur Paraiyans of the South Arcot District are the most notoriously criminal community. With the ordinary Paraiyans of other districts or other villages of South Arcot they do not intermarry, as they consider themselves superior to the ordinary Paraiyan. The Vepur Paraiyan is a bit lighter in colour than the ordinary Paraiyan, and some surmise that this is the result of intimate relations between the Vepur Paraiyans, Udaiyars and other castes. It is said that the Vepur Paraiyans exact blackmail from the people, like the Kallans. Detection becomes impossible, and they persist in their disgraceful vocation because the village headmen and others are said to help these men in disposing of the stolen things, and in supporting them in various ways.

The Valluvans are the priests of the Paraiyan. They do not live with the Paraiyans in paracheris, nor do they eat beef. As they are very few in numbers, and widely scattered, they live in isolated huts somewhere about the paracheris. There are two sections of Valluvans—Valluva Pandarams, who are Saivites, and Valluva Thathans, who are Vaishnavites. As regards their profession, some are Astrologers, some Vaithyans and a good number of them are tailors, in the Madras City. Several Valluvans wear the sacred thread.

Pallans.—The Pallans are found in the Southern Tamil Districts, but are not found in Chingleput or N. Arcot District. Where these are numerous, Paraiyans are not found : the Pallan occupies the place of

the Paraiyan. There are several sub-divisions, such as Amma, Aththa, Anja, &c. Being racially inferior there may be a few here and there with criminal tendencies. But so far as can be judged as a class, Pallans cannot be considered as a criminal class. Socially they are just like the Paraiyan, though there are differences in several respects. Pallans being slightly higher, social intercourse between the Paraiyan and Pallan is not possible.

Panisavan is said to be a contracted form of the Tamil word "Panisaivon," one who does service, and he is so called because he does service to all the castes above him—service in connection with marriages and funerals. They do not pollute, but are considered low, and are on a par with the barber, etc., because they do service. A Panisavan blows the conch and horn during marriage and funeral processions. Excepting this, there is nothing else to separate him from the other castes.

Shanars are toddy tappers and drawers of the Tamil Districts. Their social position varies with their geographical position. In the extreme south they are considered to be a low caste, carrying pollution to a certain extent ; but as we come north-ward these people do not suffer from any such disability. Generally, only those people that are actually engaged in toddy tapping, etc., are treated as being somewhat low in the scale. The well-to-do traders and contractors are not treated in the same way, and are always respected. The caste people in the Southern Districts are trying to establish the fact that they are Kshatriyas.

Whatever might have been their social position in ancient times, at present all other castes consider the Shanars a low caste. (*See Plate XX.*)

Kaikolans.—This is a widely distributed caste and rather strong in numbers. Though *Kaikolan* is a professional name for a weaver, it is used as a caste name, and does not include weavers of Telugu or Kanarese origin. These claim to be descended from nine damsels that sprang from the heads scattered on the floor by Parvati on one occasion. The god Subramanya, who is represented as carrying a dagger (sengundam) is considered to be their tribal deity, and hence they sometimes call themselves "Gengundars" or "Gengunda Mudalis." There seem to be two distinct groups of Kaikolans. (*See Plate XXII.*) Those living in the Northern Districts have a very wide social organisation for discussing and settling all tribal matters, headed by one man whom they call *Mahanattar*. This chief headman has several headmen under him. For the purpose of panchayat, etc., the whole of the Kaikolan community are divided into 77 nadus, and the headquarters of these nadus is Conjeeveram. All these nadus are subject to the authority of the Mahanattar (the chief headman). In former times the Kaikolans used to set apart one girl in a family without marriage, and dedicate her to a god and make her a *devadasi*. At the present time this practice is gradually dying out. The Kaikolans of the Southern Districts have no such practices, nor do they have the social organisation of the Northern Kaikolans. Socially these are not very high. The usual title of the caste is Mudali.

Vaniyans are the oil pressers : socially they are not very high. No other caste men, except the polluting castes, eat food or water touched by a Vaniyan. This is believed to be due to the caste being brought under the left hand section. Some amongst them lay a claim to a Vaisya descent, several making a living by trade. Their caste title is Chetti.

The *Vanniyans* or *Pallis* are the agricultural labourers of the Tamil districts. Numerically these are very strong. Socially, they are higher than Panisavans and Sembadavans, but lower than Vellalas and Idaiyans. A pretty large number of Vanniyans are now setting up a theory that they are (Kshatriyas and some would have us believe that they are) the descendants of Pallavah, Pandiya Kings, etc. Recently a Tamil book called *Varunadharpanam* was published, in which these theories were set forth. As a class they are not very remarkable for their intelligence. Their caste title that is in general use is Naicker, but other names are also in use. As examples, the following may be given :—*Padayachi Goundan*, *Kandar*, *Gupta*, etc. As regards occupation, they are engaged in all walks of life, from low to high.

The *Idaiyans*, and the *Vellalas* form the highest castes among the Tamil speaking non-Brahman castes. A number of sub-divisions exists under each of these castes.

The *Idaiyans*, whose traditional occupation is said to have been tending cattle, are found all over the presidency. (*See Plate XXI.*) At the present day they take to all kinds of occupation, in addition to selling the products of the cow, such as milk, ghi, butter, etc. The higher

social position occupied by the Idaiyans is evidently due to their traditional occupation of selling milk, curds, etc.

As regards *Vellalas* they are at the top of the social scale, occupying a place only next to the Brahmans. There are various sub-sections. Of these some are vegetarians and some take animal food. The vegetarian section, generally known as "Saivas," rank first, and in general these do not intermarry with the flesh eaters. The Saivas are further divided into territorial sections, such as, Pandiya Vellala, Soghia Vellala, etc., and these interdine, but do not intermarry. On account of their social position they come in contact with the Brahmans more frequently, and so they have absorbed most of the Brahminical forms of ceremonials, though they have not changed their social customs. Adult marriage is the rule among all sections of Vellalas. The common titles of the Vellalas are *Pillai* and *Mudaliar*. Recently several people of doubtful origin have begun to call themselves Vellas, and such men get gradually absorbed in the class. Consequently the Vellala caste is swelling in numbers from day to day.

IX.

TELUGU CASTES.

IN the social scale of the Telugu castes the lowest rung is occupied by the *Madigas*. Their traditional occupation is tanning leather and stitching shoes, sandals, etc. Though other castes consider a Madiga to be inferior to the Mala, there is a great deal of contempt and dislike shown by the Madigas to the Malas. A Madiga will not draw water from a well used by the Mala, and *vice versa*. The deity worshipped by the Madigas as their caste deity is Matangi, or Matamma. Most of the chucklers of the Madras City are Madigas ; so also are the thotis or scavengers of the Madras Municipal Corporation. In manners and customs they are very much like the Malas in all essential points. Adult marriage and widow marriage are the rule. Though a very ignorant class, and though they are very hard drinkers, they do not seem to be criminally disposed to any very large extent.

Next in rank come the *Malas*. These are more numerous than the Madigas. Though both Madigas and Malas are considered as polluting castes, Malas are not prevented from entering the front and back yards of houses by the Kapus, etc., under whom they work. Sometimes they are allowed to work inside the

house also, especially when they have to husk paddy, etc. There are some divisions amongst Malas, the most important ones being Reddibhúmi Malas, Pakaváti Malas and Sarinda Málas. Being a Telugu caste these have adopted several things from the higher castes. For instance, the marriage ceremonies, etc., are all copied from higher castes. At present it is difficult to make out which is purely a Mala custom and which not. The traditional occupation of the Malas seems to be cultivation. Several are engaged as drummers on special occasions. The drums are made by the Madigas only. Weaving was also their profession once, and even now some follow this trade in the ceded districts. Like the Madigas, the Malas also have their own barbers, washermen and musicians. Their caste gods are Poleramma, Gangumma, Mariamma, etc. Malas in several places abstain from eating dead cattle, but the Madigas have no such scruples.

The *Oddas*, or *Oddar*s, as they are sometimes called, are a very hard-working lot of people, found scattered all over the country. (*See Plate V.*) A very large number of them spend their whole life-time in digging tanks, ponds, etc., or doing some kind of earthwork. Several add to their profession pig breeding. Old men and women who are not strong enough to work, chiefly engage themselves in looking after pigs. As a class these are most filthy and extremely improvident. Their houses are low oval huts, and amidst pigsties when they happen to tend these animals. Though very loose in their morals, they pretend to be a good caste, and refuse to eat food touched by others, except the

Balijas, Gollas and Kapus. Here and there these people are likely to commit criminal acts, as their intelligence is of a primitive nature. Such of them as take to stealing and housebreaking are very clever rogues.

Another caste closely allied to the Oddas, but lower and more depraved and filthy, are the *Jogis* (also called *Tottiyans* by some). The chief occupation of this caste is begging, and the snake charmers of the Madras City belong to this caste. Occasionally they add to their income by offering their services in dog-killing. In South Arcot and Tanjore Districts these go by the name "Koravars," and do scavenging work. (*See Plate II.*) The women of this caste go about begging in the streets, and often pilfer things. It is needless to say that these are trained criminals. In most of the housebreakings in the mofussil the Jogis are concerned.

The *Yenadis* are a primitive sort of people, rather low in the scale of humanity in every respect. (*See Plate XXVII, No. 2.*) They are confined to the Nellore District, and are numerous in that District. They are engaged in all kinds of work, from a domestic servant to a scavenger. As a class they are low in culture, and consequently large numbers of them are prone to pilfer grain and other petty things. Thieving in a systematic way is too much for the Yenadi.

The *Yerukalas* are adept criminals. Thieving and housebreaking they consider to be their birthright. All torchlight dacoities, and housebreakings on a large scale heard of in former days, are the work of the Yerukalas. This caste is very widely spread and has different names in different localities. In Telugu districts they go by

the name "Yerukalavandlu" and in Tamil districts they are called "Koravar," or "Korawar." Though they know how to speak Telugu they use a peculiar dialect of Tamil and Telugu as their mother tongue. Their women go about fortune-telling, and on such occasions try to learn as much as they can about the family property, and the construction of houses as regards entrances. These people also live in small huts like the Oddas, Jogis and Yenadis.

Another criminal caste, worse than the Yerukalas, luckily less numerous in number, is the *Dommarava* caste. There are two sections amongst the Dommaravas —the Telugu Dommarava, speaking Telugu, and the Are Dommarava, speaking Mahratti. The traditional occupation of the Dommaravas is to perform acrobatic feats, feats such as rope-dancing and gymnastic feats. Their women are mostly prostitutes. Men and women from other castes are freely taken into their caste.

The *Sales*, *Gamandla* or *Idigas*, *Kamsalis*, and *Ganigas* carry on even now their own traditional professions. (*See Plate XXII*, *No. 1*.) The Sales are all weavers, and it is a general term used to denote two or three different castes. There are Padina Sales, Pattu Sales and Karva Sales. The term "Sale" is purely an occupational term. The bulk of these people are all weavers, and do not seem to work at any other profession than trading. The caste title is Setti or Chetti, Ayya or Appa.

The toddy drawers of the Telugu country are called *Idigas* in some places, and *Gamandlas* or *Gamallas* seems to be their name in other places. (*See Plate XX*, *No.* 4.) Several people are also agriculturists. The

social position of this caste is comparatively high. Kapus accept drinking water from Gamandlas, and during marriage occasions the Kapus engage Gamandlas to cook for them.

It is needless to say that the name *Kamsali* is a general term including the five artisan classes—the blacksmith, the goldsmith, the stone-mason, the carpenter, and the brass-smith. Sometimes these go by the name Panchalis. They have tried, and even now are doing their best to establish that they are Viswakarma Brahmans. But beyond their claims, there is absolutely no internal evidence to substantiate this statement. On the other hand, everything is against this view. No caste man except the very low castes accepts water touched by the Kamsalis. No one ever shows respect to a Kamsali by the usual mode of salutation called namaskáram. Recently several people have learnt the Vedas, and act as priests in certain ceremonies. Like the Kamsalis, the Sales and some Ganigas who yoke two bullocks in their oil mills are very peculiar castes. Other caste men, except the lowest, do not take water touched by these castes.

The *Ganigas* are the oil pressers. They also trade in oil and oil seeds, and some of them are vendors of grain and other things. There are two sections, the one-bullock tying section and the two-bullock tying section. The former yoke only one bullock to their oil mill, and they consider themselves superior to the two-bullock yoking people.

The *Mutrachus* are considered somewhat low in the social scale, and several of them are agriculturists

Their occupation, according to tradition, is "keeping watch," and hence they are sometimes called the "Kavalkar" caste. Recently these have begun to lay claim to be the descendants of the Kshatriya caste, because some of the Mutrachus were petty poligars. The caste title is "Nayudu."

Kapu or *Reddi*, *Kamma* and *Velama* are closely allied castes, Velama being the highest. Kapu and Kamma are almost the same in rank and position. All these three castes freely eat with one another, but marriage is prohibited.

Balija is another caste almost equal in rank to the Velamas, Kapus, etc. This caste is probably an offshoot of the other castes, Velama, Kapu, etc. The Bogams or Sanis who happen to succeed in life and who manage to accumulate wealth call themselves Balijas, and thus the rank of Balijas is swelling from day to day. The title of Kapus is "Reddi"; that of Velama, "Kamma"; that of Balija is "Nayudu."

The Observance of Caste.

Caste is observed in the school only so far as eating and drinking are concerned. The boys are arranged in different rows according to their caste, and there is a clear separation between the meat-eaters and the vegetarians, the smell of the meat being an abomination to the latter. The highest caste, the Brahmans, are provided with a separate kitchen and cook their own food, if there are less than four boys, otherwise they are provided with a cook. Accidentally a boy of one caste happens to touch the eating plate of another

belonging to a different caste. In such a case, the offending party pays for the new dish. With all this scrupulosity, a boy does not hesitate to use spit tobacco when he finds it lying on the road-side. In their games and at their work, no caste is observed. They mix freely and feel for each other. On one occasion, what struck one forcibly was the universal grief, if only outward, into which the pupils were thrown when a boy of the lowest class (the sweeper-class) had died, and his body was being carried away to be burnt.

All the cooks are caste-men, and are selected more for their muscular strength than for their knowledge of the culinary art, for the mixing of ragi flour in the preparation of puddings demands no skill, although it makes no slight demand on their strength.

X.

FOOD, CLOTHING AND BEDDING.

THE boys are given a *ragi* diet with vegetable curry, tempered with gingelly oil (*sesamum til*). Twice a week they are given mutton and rice, and once a week, fish. Dried fish is preferred because it is difficult to obtain good fresh fish. Moreover, dried fish contains 50 per cent. more albuminoid constituents than fresh fish. Dal (*canjanus indicus*), which contains 22 per cent. of nitrogenous matter and is rich in sulphur, phosphorous and salts, is given every day.

It is found that ragi, which is richer in albuminoids and oil than rice, sustains a boy better than rice, and, with few exceptions, they prefer it ; and once a lad gets accustomed to it, it takes a very large quantity of rice to satisfy him. I have reason to suspect that a boy who was fond of his stomach actually threw up his appointment as bugler in the Salt Department, because he could not get enough food to satisfy him. He tried the appointment only for a day. Ragi forms an ideal diet, but for one drawback, which perhaps may not really exist. It is a jail diet, and for a reconvicted boy it may not have the same terrors as it would have for one who was unaccustomed to it. A

boy on admission does not care for the diet (and there are certain boys who never take to it), but after two months' stay or so he enjoys it, judging by the zest with which he eats it, going the length even of licking his fingers at the finish! An ex-pupil, who had enlisted in the army, informed me that his comrades looked upon him as a jail-bird, notwithstanding his assertions to the contrary that he had come from a school. Their chief argument was that he was fed on ragi pudding in the Reformatory, and therefore it must be a jail. This is indeed the only drawback to the diet.

With regard to clothing, the boys are given a working-day suit and a Sunday suit. The former is washed by themselves and the latter by a dhobi. From *Plate XXIII*, it will be seen that the shape of the cap worn by the boys is somewhat queer, but for smartness and economy, nothing better has yet been devised. The same shape of cap was worn by the early recruits of the native army. Each boy wears on his cap the badge of his trade. The weaver, a shuttle; the carpenter, a chisel; the blacksmith, an anvil; the tailor, a pair of scissors; the band-boy and the bugler, a pair of drum-sticks crossed; and the gardener, a spade. The boys are not provided with boxes or lockers for their little all, because these would soon become the receptacles for rubbish and forbidden articles, and be an endless source of worry and trouble. The result is that, like the Israelites in the wilderness, they carry their "goods and chattels" with them wherever they go. When a boy's cap is accidentally tipped off his head, one finds scattered before

PLATE XIX.

DORMITORY.

him, broken pieces of pencil, books, pieces of paper, marbles, sweetmeat, badges, etc., etc. On one occasion, a piece of tobacco fell out in the presence of the wife of a District Judge who innocently removed a boy's cap to examine it; through her intercession however the boy was forgiven for having been found in possession of tobacco.

With regard to the sleeping accommodation of the boys, the cubicle system, where each boy was locked into a separate cubicle, was at first in vogue. But the system gives rise to prurient ideas, and affords facilities for carrying out evil practices, and is degrading in every sense. Cubicles interfere with free circulation of air and the necessary supervision which should at all times be exercised. They moreover harbour vermin. Hence the system has been condemned by the highest authorities, on moral and humane grounds. In lieu of it, the hammock system has been introduced (*See Plate XIX*); but it has this drawback, that it is inclined to give the boys a stoop, and the big boys complain that their feet are uncomfortably raised. The pial system I consider to be the best, the least expensive and the most comfortable for the Hindu, who is accustomed to this form of bedstead from his youth. The Navy, I know, has condemned the hammock system for lads, as it has been proved to stunt the growth of boys.

FINANCE.

The receipts of the school are roughly one-sixth of the expenditure, and the proportion must be considered good when it is borne in mind that a well paid staff is employed, that most of the boys are youngsters, who

are perhaps just beginning to learn the use of tools, and that some of the classes, like the band and the masons, are unremunerative. The receipts slightly cover the cost of materials and workshop contingencies, and this is a fair test of the cost of an industrial institution on the right side. On the average, the cost of the industrial training per boy per month is Rs. 8-2-9. The cost of general education works out to Rs. 5-14-0 per boy, per month. The cost of dieting a pupil for a month is about Rs. 3-5-0 under ordinary conditions, and the cost of clothing, per annum, for a boy is Rs. 5-13-0, a blanket and two suits of clothing being issued to each pupil.

XI.

OFFENCES COMMITTED IN SCHOOL.

THE majority of offences committed in school relate to contraband articles like tobacco and snuff. How these forbidden articles are introduced into the school it is not easy to tell, but that a large portion is brought by the lower class of menials, in exchange for articles bartered by the boys, has been proved more than once. The boys have also an opportunity of picking up tobacco during their Sunday walk along the public roads, and the lightning-like rapidity with which they (including good-caste boys) pick it up with their toes, excites a certain amount of admiration which is deserving of a better act. The boys, as a class, are very fond of tobacco, and the taste is acquired at a very early age. Even boys who have not acquired the taste outside soon acquire it within the school, perhaps, because it is a forbidden article. The possession of tobacco and snuff leads to a great deal of wrangling and tale-bearing among the boys. The best of friendships is based on the existence of this article, and the greatest enmity is caused by a lack of sympathy which prohibits another to share in the participation of its soothing effects.

The habit of using tobacco is such a common one among the lower classes of Hindus that the offence in the school is inclined to be treated by some as a venial

one. But the Reformatory Act, I think, takes a right view of the question when it lays down that the possession of forbidden articles must be properly dealt with, and persons guilty of introducing tobacco into a school are liable to six months' imprisonment. And for good reasons. When a boy dares to go in for a forbidden thing, thus ignoring a standing rule of the school, there is more than one offence committed thereby, and the tendency of the act is to develop in the youth all the characteristics of a thief. There is, first, the bartering of an article, perhaps stolen or surreptitiously obtained, such as a small knife, an aluminium vessel or an article of clothing, for the tobacco. Secondly, there is deliberate disobedience of a rule frequently reiterated to the boys, the remembrance of which is brought home to them every Sunday in a specially composed song, the worst culprits singing it with the greatest zest. Next comes the secrecy and cunningness involved in the commission of the offence. A boy waits for his opportunity, and when no one is within sight, he slinks into the latrine and with nervous delight soothes his hankering desire for that which is forbidden. A thief exhibits all these characteristics, and unless deception, underhandedness, unhealthy tastes, and disobedience are put down with a firm hand, a boy is bound to show these undesirable traits in other directions when he obtains his freedom. The boys should be taught to practise restraint during their school days. I have always observed that the best boys are free from even the suspicion of using tobacco, and the offence should never be treated as a venial one.

A craving appetite is a fruitful cause of a number of school offences and irregularities. A boy will rob dal or a ragi chappati, he will steal mangoes and other fruit to satisfy his appetite. After the morning or evening food is distributed, a little always remains over and the wrangling to obtain a share of it makes one long for an appetite as keen, and yet the allowance granted them, *viz.*, a 2 lb. 4 oz. pudding, is no stinted fare. The boys volunteer to perform small services, in the shape of drawing water and chopping up firewood for the cooks, in the hope of being rewarded with a share of what remains of a meal. During an outbreak of cholera the practice of giving boys *extras* was temporarily put a stop to, to prevent overloading of the stomach, and there were great heart-burnings over it. Gluttony, it must be remarked, is no uncommon trait of character, among juvenile criminals.

MINOR OFFENCES.

The minor offences in the school are such as follow :—Fighting with each other, tearing clothes, going into the kitchen, using bad language, bartering food, sleeping on the ground instead of in hammocks, washing clothes without permission, being absent from drill, picking up tobacco stems on the road, losing badges, neglecting to give clothes for repair, telling a lie, altering the length of trousers without permission, spitting on the floor, not wearing badges, not attending gymnastics, being dirty at inspection, loitering about, etc. I was amused at the artifice of a boy who, to avoid detection, stitched a towel to the inner side of his trousers, in order that it

might be washed white by the dhobi, a towel being generally washed by the boy himself.

The mark system greatly helps to reduce minor offences. When a boy does not commit himself seriously, he is either given loss of marks or three cuts on the hand ; but the punishment is not recorded in his history sheet and therefore does not tell against him in the earning of a good conduct badge.

ESCAPES.

Many facilities exist for escape, and, if a boy chooses to do so, the obstacles in his way are easily overcome. The escapes generally happen just before lock-up, but in one instance three boys escaped after being locked up, and in the following manner. They unravelled a hammock and made a rope of it, and, having mounted a cubicle, they threw the rope upwards in such a manner as to pass it round the truss of a beam, and by means of it they got out through the sky-light. Once outside the dormitory it was an easy matter to climb over the outer boundary wall and abscond.

The boys are happy under the moral influence, watchful care, the educational and industrial training they receive, and are too well looked after to wish to escape, and this happens only in the case of new-comers, who perhaps fret after their homes. There was a solitary instance of the escape of three big boys who did not care for the discipline introduced. Peons were sent out after them along the chief roads ; one of the peons espied the three boys leaving the public road in the early morning and making for a jungle. He followed them up and accosted them,

when the three boys stood still as though transfixed to the ground. It was impossible for a single peon to tackle three grown-up youths if they opposed arrest, and it speaks much for the discipline of the school that the voice of the peon was sufficient to control the flight of the boys. The peon was given a reward of Rs. 5 for his smart catch, and he tried to be still smarter in attempting to earn another reward by instigating a boy to escape, and bringing him back the following day! There was not evidence enough, however, to bring the charge home to the peon.

CASES OF GRAVE MISDEMEANOUR.

The first case that happened in the school was the result of a quarrel between two boys, one of whom was punished. The aggrieved boy, a Muhammadan, then took the law into his own hands and assaulted the other boy. Knowing that he would be severely dealt with, he ran off to the spot where manufactured articles were sold and got hold of two knives, which he brandished before the office, threatening mischief. A number of peons armed with lathis brought him to his senses.

The second case was an instance of rioting. Some of the boys got the impression that the Deputy Superintendent was cruelly severe, and they plotted to take action against him when an opportunity occurred, and it happened thus :—A boy was asked to pull the office punkah, which he refused to do, and when he was being punished for the offence, a dozen boys ran off to the District Court, adjoining the school, and disturbed the Judge in the midst of his Sessions work,

representing to him that they were being ill-treated. Circumstances lead one to think that there was a master-mind behind this move, and that an outsider or one of the staff set up the boys to commit a breach of discipline. The outcome of the riot was the appointment of a European Sergeant, to prevent a similar occurrence taking place. The evil result of these occasional riots is that they become a part of the tradition of the school.

A third case of grave misdemeanour occurred under the leadership of a boy who refused to take his food at meal time because rice diet was not given in lieu of ragi on a festival day, and he was able to induce the whole school to refuse their food for a time. There was, it is true, a precedent for the change of diet, but I do not believe that the boy felt the loss of a privilege so much as the importance of leadership, which appealed to his vanity. But, in a criminal population, it is easy for a crowd to follow a ringleader on the spur of the moment, in their excitement, and then, afterwards, to dissociate themselves from him. The whole school had very little sympathy for this boy when he was severely punished.

The more serious offences, such as assault with intention to hurt, should not be dealt with after the manner of school discipline, but should be investigated by a magistrate, for which provision is made in the school rules. If murderous assault or any other serious offence be treated as a school offence, it is bound to have a bad effect on the discipline of the school.

CRIMINAL CHARACTERISTICS.

Boys of a criminal character, I have observed, are so weak-willed that they easily and readily listen to bad advice, especially when it comes from one who offers to give them excitement in the assertion of what they imagine to be their rights, but it is just as easy to get them to see the reason for any change introduced. They are also very clannish, and a wrong committed against one of their own is bound to create a strong feeling which may have a regrettable termination. In football, an insulting word from the other side, particularly with reference to their criminal past, has resulted in stone-throwing, and I remember a case where a peon was set upon in my presence when one of the boys was ill-treated by him. Of course, the peon brought this upon himself. Easily excited, they are also easily brought under discipline, and by firmness and kindness the majority of the boys are lead to respect authority. But if a suspicion of harshness and injustice is aroused in them, rioting and frequent occurrences of impertinence and insubordination result, and to no small extent the menials are responsible for these outbursts of feeling.

Insubordination is not altogether a common offence, but occasionally it does give rise to serious trouble. A boy does not like to be spoken to roughly. He imagines that some ill-feeling lurks within the mind of the master, and this makes him feel that he is watched with the object of 'being run to earth.' An offence should be enquired into, and visited with punishment with no anger or temper visible, and in

a calm judicial attitude, the reasons for the punishment being conclusively explained to the boy. In order that he may feel that there is no personal element in the matter, he is made to salute the officer immediately the punishment is meted out to him. If a boy is assured of your sympathy and just treatment, he takes the punishment he deserves ; otherwise he resents it.

The number of offences varies with the circumstances and time of the year. Generally, after a long vacation, like the Christmas holidays, the boys get out of hand and the number of offences increases. And yet perhaps there is wisdom in allowing the pupils a fortnight's holiday, for even if there be a tendency to revert to old habits of life, it reveals the direction of these tendencies. It is a valuable aid in the development of character in the hands of the authorities, who should take due advantage of it and adopt a treatment necessary for each individual case.

Then, again, punishments increase in the hot weather, when a boy's mood and temper are not of the best. Insubordination is then likely to show itself, as well as wrangling and fighting. The hot weather synchronises with the fruit season, such as the mango and cocoanut, and it helps to swell the number of offences, the temptation to knock down fruit when no one is about being too great for a certain section of boys. And the offence should not be treated as a boyish prank, for however venial it may be viewed in the case of ordinary children, it must be viewed in a different light, when a boy of the criminal class is concerned.

XII.

THE SUPT. AND DY. SUPT. AS MAGISTRATES.

I HAVE already referred to the Deputy Superintendent as the head of the family, but his duties are very varied, and although he does not go through a course of legal training, he is called upon to exercise the office of a magistrate and to enquire into every offence of an anti-social character. Witnesses are heard on both sides and a decision arrived at, based, let us hope, on common-sense. He is helped, however, to a great extent in unravelling the threads of a case, by the boys themselves, for a boy is a boy after all, and one or two searching questions put to him is sufficient to bring out the truth. The investigation of the cases, however, takes up time, and in addition, every little complaint has to be heard and settled. The facts of the case are then put before the Superintendent, who performs the function of a higher court, in some instances, and passes orders as to the punishment to be meted out. I knew of one Superintendent who purposely played foot-ball with the boys, in order that they might know him in a capacity different from that of a disciplinarian. The Deputy Superintendent acts also as treasurer of the boys' savings. The whole of the pupils' money is banked in the Postal

Savings Banks in his name, and he sanctions all expenditure. Chits are presented for signature for the purchase of sweetmeats, fruit, cakes and small articles of dress, such as banians, out of a boy's own earnings. They are then taken to a master who is detailed for this particular work, and he debits the amount to the pupil, and balances his account once a quarter. A running account is thus maintained for each pupil, and a statement showing the balances is posted up periodically outside the office for the information of all boys. The pupil himself knows pretty well how his cash transactions stand, and he soon detects even the smallest error in his account.

On a Saturday afternoon, it is amusing to watch a row of from twenty to thirty boys standing at the office with chits in their hands for signature. They have come for permission to take a purgative on Sunday. A Hindu boy seems to relish taking castor oil and asks for it, perhaps because he feels all the better for taking the medicine. How different from an English lad, who dreads medicines, even when mixed with the nicest of syrups!

CORPORAL PUNISHMENT.

Much is said of the American "up to date" methods in the treatment of juvenile criminals. It is said that they are characterised by deep humanity and optimism. Punishment is not resorted to until advice, exhortation, rebuke, threat, and surveillance have all been exhaustively tried. In some institutions, self-government is followed, a boy who misbehaves himself being tried before his comrades, to awaken in him the sense of moral shame as

well as self-respect. This system may work very well in European and Christian countries, where a boy's moral sense and self-respect can be appealed to ; but in India, where one is handicapped by the almost total absence of religious motives and moral sense as a basis to work upon, it will be found that corporal punishment must play a certain part in the treatment of the juvenile criminal, whether it be flogging on the buttocks or caning on the hands. To the latter form of punishment, little if any exception can be taken, the objection comes in when flogging or birching is resorted to, and the objection is perhaps more or less of a sentimental nature. The headmaster of an English public school remembers to have flogged a whole bench of bishops. Surely then this form of punishment cannot be objected to, nay, rather it is suitable for juveniles steeped in superstition and ignorance, and with an inherited obtuseness of moral sentiment. I am therefore an advocate for the retention of flogging to meet those cases where no other form of punishment will bring a juvenile offender to his senses ; but it must be used judiciously. The person also who sanctions the punishment must be known to possess the qualities of kindness and sympathy, if it is to serve the ends which the punishment has in view. The punishment is dreaded, and for this reason it is necessary to retain it as a last resort when other forms of punishment prove ineffective. It is degrading to a sensitive mind, but for incorrigibles it acts as a charm. There are cases in the school where birching has made a boy a new boy and done him all the good imaginable. Once in the history of the school the system of birching was

done away with, and the result was that the number of offences increased under all heads, especially under insubordination and impertinence. Caning on the hand was found as a punishment to be practically a farce to a set of horny-handed young scamps who spend half the time in gardening, carpentry or the blacksmith's shop, and who before coming to the school were inured to hardships, fisticuffs and kicks. Such boys take fifteen cuts on the hand without wincing, and can only be governed by fear of flogging until subdued and brought to their senses. The system therefore was reintroduced, more particularly as it was found from experience that the certainty of flogging tended to do away with the necessity for it.

XIII.

A BOY'S LAST DAY AT SCHOOL.

NO greater contrast in appearance can be presented than that between a boy on the first day of his admission, and on his last day at school. A trembling creature with downcast looks, he is brought to the school accompanied by two policemen armed with rifles with fixed bayonets (to prevent his escape I fancy !) and forms the centre of a group which may be entitled, "weakness and strength." *(See Frontispiece).* The boy is received in jail clothes with an iron anklet round his leg, and a pair of manacles on his hands ; these are at once removed. With education, good feeding, physical exercise, and regular habits, he begins to lose the hang-dog look, learns how to smile, and to put on a happy and contented countenance. When the time for his discharge draws near he is allowed six months growth of hair, and with it is frequently observed a growth of slackness and indifference to too closely observe the rules of the school. He is more concerned about the totalling up of his earnings, and the getting ready of his 'go-away costume,' which generally consists of a suit of some fancy check, a cap and a body cloth. In these he is the hero, for the time being, and

he is conscious of his dignity. When the hour for parting comes, he speaks a few words of advice to the assembled school expressing his regret for the trouble he has given, and asking them not to do as he has done, but to behave properly—words of advice which I am afraid are seldom taken to heart. Sometimes tears are shed at parting from friends, and then comes the final leave-taking of the Superintendent and the Deputy Superintendent, who give him a few words of counsel and present him with a photograph or other souvenir. He is escorted by a peon of the school and not by a police constable, in order to emphasize his worthy citizenship, and is taken before the magistrate of the District where he was convicted. He is discharged by the same magistrate, who hands him over to his people. In one instance, a boy was sent straight from the school to be enlisted in a regiment. Such action was doubtless contrary to the rules of the school and the Superintendent pleaded guilty to the charge, but added that he preferred to be guided by common sense !

The magistrate is requested to do what he can to ensure the boy having a fair start in life, and to see that efforts be made to keep him in view under all circumstances. He is further requested to pay the boy's earnings in such instalments as he may deem desirable, or, if the boy prefers it, in starting him in business, including, if he sees no reason to the contrary, the purchase of tools. A boy is generally handed over to his relatives, who may be willing to receive him, altered both morally and physically, and, if given a fair start in life, would settle down to honest living, provided

that he is occasionally visited during the period of danger which follows his discharge. Hence magistrates are requested to send half-yearly reports, all enquiries regarding the ex-pupil being made through the district civil officials other than the police, and the enquiries are expected to be made as unobtrusively and in a manner as little inquisitorial as possible. In some cases, we do receive complaints from ex-pupils about the treatment they receive at the hands of a police constable who is perhaps inclined to class our ex-pupils as K. D.'s ; but representations to the higher authorities have always immediately checked this tendency. But it cannot be said that a boy unflinchingly stands the special dangers to which he is exposed when he finds himself once again in the old unfavourable surroundings. The influence of past discipline and supervision wears off within a year, and he frequently drifts back to his thieving habits, from the absence of proper control. A magistrate, however, is allowed a certain amount of discretion in the case of a youth belonging to the criminal class, for he has power to dispose of him *without* the consent of his relatives in such a manner as to protect him from the influence of criminal associates. Even then it is difficult to keep him away from the gang to which he formerly belonged, and he soon drifts among them and follows them in their wandering depredations, and is lost sight of.

FOLLOWING THE TRADE TAUGHT IN THE SCHOOL.

If a comparison be instituted between schools where the training imparted is principally agricultural and those which teach other industries, it will be found

that the number who follow the trade taught them is larger in the former class of institutions. For one reason, as agriculture forms the chief industry of the country, it is easier to find work as an agricultural cooly than as a workman in other trades where guilds exist, with all their caste and trade prejudices, with more or less closed doors to outsiders. For this reason, a training in agriculture should form an important part in the scheme of instruction given in the school, more especially in the case of those boys who do not belong to the artizan class. At present, the industries taught in the school are gardening, carpentry, tailoring, blacksmith's work, metal work, weaving and masonry. There is also a band and bugle class. The object of the industrial training is not so much to turn out skilled mechanics, as to train the hand and eye so as to awaken in the pupils an ambition to pursue a lawful calling, and help them to appreciate the value of a practical knowledge of a trade. To such boys, the railway and other workshops are the only places open for employment, and those who are not fortunate enough to enter them try to eke out a livelihood in a precarious manner in their villages. Even in schools where agriculture is taught in addition to other industries, the same results obtain. In Alipore, nineteen boys were found during the year 1906 to be employed in agriculture as against twenty-five who had been taught that industry at the school, whereas only thirty-five were employed in trades and handicrafts taught them at the school out of one hundred and thirty-six who had received training in those trades and handicrafts.

In the Burnham Reformatory, New Zealand, it is observed that a large number of past inmates are engaged in the agricultural pursuits in which they received instruction while under control. Of the lads who have been instructed in carpentry, the greater part of them follow up that trade. Of bootmakers, probably 5 per cent. continue in that occupation, while tailoring is unpopular, and few of the lads care to go on with it. Our experience is the same.

In the absence of factories, therefore, the percentage of those who follow the trade taught them in the school must necessarily be small, and under the circumstances, it is gratifying to be able to record the fact that from 25 to 40 per cent. of the pupils do follow the trade taught them, especially in a country where occupations are so largely hereditary. At the same time, it is only fair to presume that the boys who follow other occupations have benefited by the hand and eye training which they received in the school. To sum up, the chief difficulties found by boys to follow the trades they have been taught in the school are, that trade castes are loath to admit outsiders to their trade, that the boys start life with little or no capital, and few, if any friends, and the stain on their character that remains from the fact that they have been in a reformatory school. Magistrates however, could do a great deal to find suitable employment for the boys.

XIV.

RE-CONVICTIONS.

THE only test of the result of reformatory work is the number who are re-convicted after discharge. For this purpose, a history of ex-pupils is maintained for three years. In reply to a reference from the Government of India, the Madras Government decided to continue the plan of asking revenue officials to exercise a friendly supervision over discharged pupils and to report to the school authorities, half yearly, on their conduct and occupation, rather than the plan adopted by the other Provincial Governments of granting small stipends to discharged pupils as a means whereby the school may keep in touch with them. This method will probably have the effect of placing a premium on laziness.

When a pupil leaves the institution he does so with a desire more or less to lead an honest life. The first few weeks are the most critical portion of his reformed life, and if he does not get a fair start within that period, he is likely to get into idle habits which will ultimately land him in trouble. There is also the want, due to overwork, of close and friendly supervision over ex-pupils on the part of the subordinate revenue officials,

and the half-yearly reports in such cases are "whereabouts not known." Then, again, the home life of the boy may be bad, and he finds himself once again surrounded by evil associates, and he falls a prey to them. If reformatory work is to have any success, the youth must be frequently visited during the dangerous period following his release, and not lost sight of until he is able to look after himself. It is noteworthy that even with this want of proper surveillance, only 15 per cent. are re-convicted on the average taken for the last twenty years, and it is certain that this percentage can be reduced by proper supervision and control over juveniles discharged. Hence my plea for compulsory enlistment, or the establishment of an institution where discharged pupils will be under control and at the same time live amidst ordinary social surroundings, or a non-official philanthropic body, such as the Brahmo Somaj, the Anjuman, or the Salvation Army, to advise and help the released boy.

Since the school was opened, about 600 boys have been discharged, and 91, or 15%, relapsed into crime. 67 of these belonged to towns and 24 lived in villages. 39% of the total re-convictions were Madras boys who come to the school full of the vice of city life and who go back to their old surroundings to fall into evil habits again. Madras boys require a separate corrective institution where strict discipline and hard manual work are the conditions, with a suitable staff to cope with difficulties. On discharge, they should be sent elsewhere than to their old homes; for the weak point in the whole system is the want of proper supervision

after release. A Technical Institute to provide work for these boys will perhaps partly solve the difficulty.

Some of our pupils are sent to jail because they cannot give security for good behaviour.

I give a typical case. A boy living in one of the taluqs around Bangalore was found in company with another boy "suspiciously loitering" about, and, being unable to give a satisfactory account of themselves, they were arrested by the Police, who informed the Magistrate that the boy's father and uncle were members of a criminal gang, and that the boy as well as his relations stood on the register of suspected persons. The boy was asked to execute a bond for Rs. 50, with two sureties, for his good behaviour for a period of six months, and because he was unable to furnish the requisite security he was ordered to be rigorously imprisoned for six months. This treatment I consider most cruel.

In the first place, the boy's name should never have found a place in the register of suspected persons. Then, if his relatives belonged to a criminal gang, how could he possibly furnish security of any value. The Government expect that the boy should be kept away from his criminal associates and be given a fair start in life. This boy is described as being found by the Police "suspiciously loitering" about. What the expression exactly means I cannot tell; but I imagine that the Police, finding his name on the K. D. list, hauled him up before the tribunal as a suitable subject for trial. This is the way to manufacture criminals and undo the work of reformation. I may state that this youth soon after his discharge from the school was

placed under the surveillance of the Police, who called for certain information about the offence he committed *prior* to his admission into the school. The Director of Public Instruction was referred to in the matter and his orders were that the information should not be furnished, as it was contrary to the orders of Government. Notwithstanding the correspondence, the unfortunate boy was tried and convicted. This is one of several cases and has reference specially to boys of the criminal classes.

Requisitions are also frequently received from the Police Department, contrary to the standing orders of the Inspector General of Police, regarding present pupils in the school. A roll headed "roll of a bad character" is sent and certain columns requiring information about the age, caste, residence, offences, etc., are required to be filled up, evidently with a view to place such pupils on the K. D. list. In the face, therefore, of the unsympathetic attitude taken up by the lower ranks of Police officials, and of the enormous difficulties and temptations in the way of making a start in life, it is very gratifying to be able to state that only 15 per cent. are re-convicted. At the Massachusetts reformatory, it is thought creditable if one-fourth of the boys are eventually diverted from a criminal life.

XV.

THE 'OLD BOYS' AND THE SCHOOL.

IT speaks well for the work that is being done in a Reformatory school if the old boys take an interest in it, and keep up their connection with the old school. In an ordinary school, one always thinks well of a boy who looks back with affection to his old school days of pleasant memories and does not forget his *alma mater*. That a reformatory boy should do the same, and evince even the smallest interest in his old school must be regarded as a favourable sign of good work being done in the institution, where, perhaps, the memories are not of the pleasantest nature. The case of their admission into the school, the special punishments that are ready at hand to meet offences, the curtailment of liberty, the discipline, all militate against the drawing out of a boy's affection for the school. It is therefore a very pleasant surprise to find that many an ex-pupil revisits the scenes of his school days, showing that he is not ashamed of his connection with the school. There are various motives which prompt a lad to do this : one boy perhaps cannot find work to do and he travels miles to seek the protection of the school. Another comes to renew old friendships and old scenes ; a third, to pay respect to his masters,

which is usually shewn in the form of garlands and the accustomed lime. These visits are always encouraged, especially from well-behaved boys who thereby exert a powerful influence on the inmates of the school. When the latter see their former companions respectable and doing well, either as sepoys, constables, or as artizans they are most favourably impressed. An ex-pupil in uniform is always a centre of attraction. Opportunity is not lost on these occasions to make them contribute towards the athletic fund of the school, which they gladly do: opportunity is also taken to get them to counsel the boys in the school on the way they should meet the temptations to which they would be exposed on their discharge—temptations which they themselves have experienced.

Some of the pupils correspond with the members of the staff, and I give below the translation of a letter written in Telugu by an ex-pupil. The translation is in the exact words of one of the lower standard teachers and, being a typical example of that class, is allowed to stand as in the original.

" Subba Row writes giving thanks to say that he was protected for the last so many days just as a father would do. On your recommendation, the District Collector of Cocanada gave an appointment in the carpentry department of the workshop of Dowlaishwaram. They are paying Rs. 18 per month. I am safe both by the grace of Almighty and by your kindness. I will go there after the year for the purpose of seeing you and the teachers. I am doing my work to the satisfaction of my brother, my mother and the

maistry under whom I work. I am praying the Almighty God day and night for life and prosperity of yourself and teachers. My best compliments to all the teachers."

He gives the following advice to all the boys :—

(1) "Pray God daily."

(2) "Obey to the teachers and maistries who are teaching you, and should not show your angry temper towards them."

(3) "You all should learn to work well."

(4) "If you know the work well, you will earn daily not less than 8 annas."

'Work and pray' is evidently the motto of this youth.

A few Madras boys have been known to visit the school immediately after a theft in the town. They evidently break their journey here to have a look at the school, dressed in all their fineries, which have been purchased from the hard earnings of somebody else, thus converting ill-got money into clothes of respectability and show. Thus much for the seamy side of visits from 'old boys.'

XVI.

CONDUCT AND OCCUPATION OF PAST PUPILS.

THE number of pupils favourably reported on works out on an average from 65 to 75 per cent., the pupils not reported on, who have emigrated or could not be traced, a good proportion of whom no doubt are doing well, being excluded. The percentage of good reports compares favourably with the average percentage of good reports in the Reformatories in great Britain and Ireland. Among the boys who cannot be traced, a large number belong to the Dasiri, Korava, Villi, and Yenadi castes. These are wandering gangs, and at present reformatory training seems to be useless in their case, notwithstanding the efforts made by the school to start them in life with some kind of work. As regards well-behaved pupils, who do not follow the trade taught them, but who do benefit by the training

given them in the school, some of them obtain employment as school-masters, gymnastic instructors (one Inspector of Schools remarked that the best gymnastic instructor he came across was an ex-pupil of this school), others as peons, process-servers and sepoys. Since the opening of the school, 584 boys have been discharged, of whom fifteen per cent. were re-convicted. A good proportion of the rest are doing well. Amongst those who followed respectable professions, thirty-four were enlisted in the army, eleven as buglers in various public departments and three in the police ; seven were employed as gymnastic instructors, six as school-masters, two as aluminium instructors, six as weaving maistries and three as master-tailors. Ten became process-servers ; seven, peons ; two, attenders ; one, a village munsiff ; one was employed as a railway sub-inspector, one became a field surveyor, two found work as press-men, two as clerks, one as a local fund maistry and one as a P. W. D. blacksmith. Of the rest, some followed the trades taught them, and others pursued occupations to which the training in the school had helped them.

Apropos of the Reddi caste, of one boy who was trained as a carpenter, the Magistrate wrote that he would do better as a teacher than a candidate from the plains, many of whom do harm to education (in the proper sense) by inculcating notions of caste pretensions, pollution and other unhealthy ideas from which the Koyas and Reddis are still to a large extent exempt. The subsequent record of the boy relates that he leads the semi-savege life of his kinsmen, the hill Reddis, and that "hunting and kadu-

cultivation" are his occupation. The Magistrate adds that, as he was sent to the Reformatory School for having killed another boy, a crime which does not imply vicious surroundings or bad associates, there is little likelihood of his falling into a life of crime.

The instructors in some of the important weaving schools of the Presidency are ex-pupils of this institution. One boy actually tried to patent a loom which would weave, shape and put together pieces of garments, thus doing away with tailors! A few of our boys are reported on (by the lower Revenue officials) as earning their livelihood by begging, and in the same sentence their conduct is reported to be satisfactory, which is rather a contradiction in terms. Some pupils of the artizan class go wrong because they cannot understand starting on low wages and sticking to their work till they rise. They go from pillar to post and do not settle down to any regular work. I give below statistics to show the percentages of boys who follow agriculture and other trades, as well as those who are well-behaved and earn a livelihood in other ways. The figures are comparative, and relate to the seven reformatories in India and Burma.

In the first column, the percentage of well-behaved boys is given. In the second column, the percentage of pupils who follow agriculture of those taught that industry in the school, and in the third column, the percentage of those who follow other trades taught them at the school are given.

Statistics relating to after-conduct of released boys for the last three years.

Yeravda Reformatory ...	65·2	29·3	17·8
Insein do. ...	52·2	9·6	14·8
Jubbulpore do. ...	61·0	27·2	32·3
Chunar do. ...	54·06	42·3	20·1
Alipore do. ...	64·6	52·9	19·4
Chingleput do. ...	65·5	...	19·1
Hazaribagh do. ...	70·8	60·3	21·9

It will be seen from this table that the percentage of well-behaved boys is higher in the Hazaribagh Reformatory than in the other reformatories, and taking all things equal, the cause is probably due to the fact that it is essentially an agricultural school, and that boys after their discharge are less likely to fall into temptation as agricultural coolies than as artizans. The industrial population is more or less located in towns where the conditions are not favourable. From statistics covering over twenty years, it has been noted that 75 per cent. of the boys who relapse belong to large towns.

THE ARMY AS A PROFESSION.

With the almost total disbandment of the old Madras Army, it is difficult to obtain enlistment for our ex-pupils who will make excellent material for the native army. They are accustomed to discipline, they

have a fair knowledge of company and battalion drill, and they are skilled in a trade. A general order therefore may well be issued by the Military authorities that a recruiting officer should periodically visit the school for the enlistment of suitable youths, and that allowances be made in the case of those boys who do not quite come up in measurement to the standard requirements, for the reason that they are growing lads and that they would soon reach the required measurements. The school also should be made a recruiting ground for Regimental Bands,—a Kneller Hall for the needs of India. It is true a few of our boys do enter regimental bands, but one would like to see a larger number in them. In England from 600 to 700 Reformatory pupils on the average enlist in the army every year, of whom 250 join the band.

During the South African War many of them gave their lives for their country, and Sir John French was not ashamed to say,—pointing to the list of names of old boys who had fallen in the war, when he was unveiling a memorial tablet, "They were your comrades, they were my comrades." Out in India, a great deal more might be done to encourage the enlistment of our boys in the army, especially in those Regiments where skill in some trade is necessary. As reformed juveniles, they possess qualities which enhance their value to the army. If enlistment is encouraged, it becomes an easy matter to foster in the school the idea of service to the State.

Some few of our boys have enlisted and have earned clasps and medals for services on the frontier.

The following is the translation of a letter received from three lads who served in the China Expeditionary Force :—"They state that they belong to the China Field Force, and that Government had for five to six years educated them, trained them to industries, fed and clothed them and gave them good advice, and made them men. They hope to fight bravely in this war and bring credit to the Reformatory School, even at the risk of their lives ; when they remember the benefit Government has conferred on them, they feel strong in their spirit to fight for Government. They hope at any cost to vanquish the enemies of Empress Victoria and then to return to India."

PLATE XX.

SHANAR (TODDY-DRAWER) GROUP.

XVII.

THE NATURE OF JUVENILE CRIME.

THE history of certain young offenders is reproduced, some juveniles being arranged according to caste and others according as they afford types of the class of juveniles committed to the school.

SHANAR GROUP (PLATE XX).

Naveti Appadu (*Plate XX*, No. 1). Shanar by caste, aged 12, both parents living, has a brother in school: he was convicted of stealing eight annas, after three previous convictions. On a festival day, when a Brahman widow was in a bending posture buying a tin box, the accused was caught untying a knot at the extremity of her cloth. His school offences were three cases of theft and three of possessing tobacco.

No. 2. Manja, a Billawar, or Tiyan Shanar, aged 14, mother alive: convicted of theft after a previous conviction. Conduct in school, exemplary.

No. 3. Joseph, a Native Christian Shanar of Tinnevelly, mother living: he was associated with four men in committing dacoity. This was his first conviction.

No. 4. Idiga Venkatigadu, aged 14 years, both parents living: was sent for kidnapping a boy from lawful

guardianship, with the result that the boy was murdered with the object of gaining possession of the key of an iron safe. The boy must have known that he had no business to take a small boy so far away from his parents and relations when he ought to have been at his supper. Perhaps the accused did not think that the deceased would be robbed or ill-treated or murdered, but only that he would be induced to come to a certain spot and probably to give up the key. A half-smoked cigarette, 50 yards away from the proper path, pointed to the fact that the murdered boy was coming out to meet people at this place, by previous arrangement and under the guidance of the accused.

No. 5. Kannan Gramani, a Madras Shanar, both parents living, aged 13, committed theft of a silver wrist string, and, five days after, theft in a building in respect of a cloth. This boy, who was learning music in school, was guilty of tearing up in pieces his bombardon tutor to avoid the task of playing his lessons at scales. The reason he assigned for his action was that the book looked too shabby to be used!

No. 6. Kovil Pillai, a Tinnevelly Shanar by caste, and, by religion, an S. P. G. Protestant, 14 years of age, with both parents alive: he was convicted of theft of cotton from a railway shed, after a previous offence.

No. 7. Naveti Muthiyalu, a Telugu Shanar and brother of the first boy, 13 years of age: he was convicted of theft after two previous convictions. This boy was silly, and was made a butt of by the other boys. He was also left-handed.

PLATE XXI.

IDAIYAN (SHEPHERD) GROUP.

No. 8. Ramothi, a Tiyan, aged $14\frac{1}{2}$ years, father living: sent here on first conviction for house-breaking and theft of clothes and jewels in company with four other men. Conduct in school exemplary. He obtained two silver medals for good conduct and a silver badge for proficiency in music, and was recommended to the Commandant, Nair Brigade, Cochin State, for enlistment. The Durbar, however, could not entertain him, as he was by caste a Tiyya, and Tiyyas are not allowed to enter the compounds of palaces.

IDAIYAN GROUP (PLATE XXI).

No. 1. Muniswami, an Idaiyan of Madras, aged 12 years, both parents living: committed theft of gold earrings from a boy aged 9 years, after a previous conviction. One school offence, and that was tobacco. The supposed extraordinary powers possessed by this boy were brought to my notice by a Madras University Graduate. The boy was supposed to be able to locate a sprain and remove it,—a power derived, as his mother informed him, from the fact that he was born with his legs foremost!

No. 2. Mukivadu, a deaf and dumb boy, a Golla of Bellary, aged 10 years, with father living: he was sent on first conviction of house-breaking by night with intent to commit theft. He is taught carpentry and drawing.

No. 3. Krishnan, an Idaiyan of Madras, 12 years of age both parents living: convicted of theft in a building in respect of Rs. 15, after a previous conviction. His previous occupation was that of a servant.

No. 4. Kothandapani Pillai, an Idaiyan, aged 9 : convicted of theft in a building. Conduct exemplary. No school offence. Became an assistant monitor. First conviction.

No. 5. Venugopaul, an Idaiyan of Madras, aged 14, both parents living : committed theft of an exercise book and a combined pen and pencil, valued at 2½ annas, after a previous conviction of theft. His previous occupation was that of a cigar roller and no wonder that his school offences include two of 'tobacco.' He is a morose looking individual, and was once guilty of hurting a boy in the eye.

No. 6. Botta Appalaswami, a Turpu Golla by caste, belonging to Godaveri, aged 12 years, with mother living : he was convicted of stealing money from a coat in a house, after a previous conviction for a similar offence. His occupation was that of a cowherd. His two school offences were tobacco ones. He is a very dull boy and acts foolishly.

SALIYA OR KAIKOLAN GROUP (PLATE XXII).

No. 1. Obalesigadu, a Saliya of Anantapur, aged 11 years, with mother living : sent, after a first conviction, his offence being pocket-picking of Rs. 3. He is clean and his conduct is good. He rose to be an assistant monitor. He is a pleasant looking boy.

No. 2. Rammayyan, a Puttunal of Salem, aged 13 years, both parents living : convicted of house trespass and theft, after a previous conviction.

No. 3. Chinnapayyan, a Kaikalava of Salem, aged 14½ years, both parents living : convicted of house-breaking by night and theft of a cloth in a building,

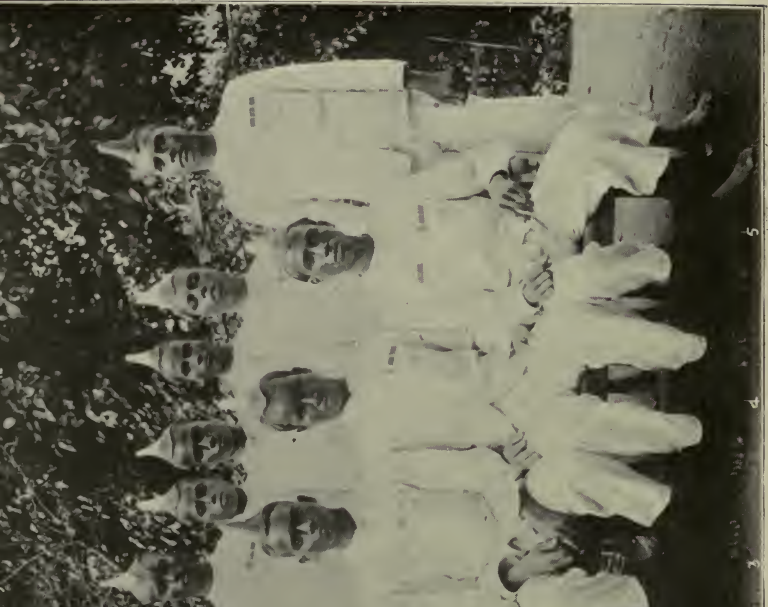
PLATE XXII.

KAIKOLAN (WEAVER) GROUP.

after two previous convictions. Although only a new admission, he reported his maistry for beating him without cause, as he stated, and absolutely refused to do work. When a boy brings a charge against a maistry, he requires to be watched.

No. 4. Gumpini Paidigadu, a Saliya of Vizagapatam, aged 14, both parents living: convicted of theft after two previous convictions. He stole a purse from a person in the act of entering a railway carriage. This boy was responsible for sending a scavenger to jail, he having obtained tobacco from him by bartering his food. In school, he was twice punished for misbehaviour and disobedience of orders, and was inclined to resent punishment.

PLATE XXIII.



MONITORS.

XVIII.

MONITORS (PLATE XXIII).

NO. 1. Tekkumtalakkil Bava, a Moplah, aged 12 years, both parents dead. He stole a purse from a person in a crowd collected at a railway crossing, after two previous convictions. In school, he had two tobacco offences against him.

No. 2. Kottai, a Panisivan, aged 13 years, mother living. He belongs to a caste who do service at marriages and funerals in blowing the conch. He committed theft in Madras of 3½ bottles of kerosine oil and two municipal lamp burners, after five previous convictions. His offences in school were three of theft and one of using filthy language. He became a monitor, because he kept steady for a year.

No. 3. Ramotti, a Tiyan, is rather studious, and never goes in for games. He was trained in the band, and rose to be head monitor. Sent here on first conviction.

No. 4. Ankadu, a Telega or Odda by caste, aged 13 years, both parents living: caught red-handed in the act of stealing a silver necklace from a child's neck. First conviction.

No. 5. Muniswami, a Korava, aged 14 years, both parents living: sent for theft of Rs. 3-4-0, after a previous conviction. He was taught weaving in the absence of any suitable trade for boys of this class.

No. 6. Darman, a Goundan, aged 12 years, father living: convicted of house-breaking and theft, being his first conviction. He is rather a religious boy.

No. 7. Pakkiri, a Panchama, aged 11, with no parents living: convicted of theft by an old offender. His only school offence was a serious one, *viz.*, impertinence to the Deputy Superintendent. The boy was known to be foolish and was misled to behave as he did, because he received ordinary diet instead of a special one during his stay in hospital. The boy has a negro type of face. (*See Plate XXIII.*)

No. 8. Kothandrama, an Idaiyan, bears a good character, but possesses a quick temper. Sent on first conviction.

No. 9. Sangili Valayan, a shepherd or Valayan by caste, aged 13, both parents living: first conviction, house-breaking and theft. No school offence.

No. 10. Bevartha Narasimhulu, an Uriya or meat-eating Brahman, aged 12, both parents dead: was convicted of house-breaking and theft in a building, after a previous conviction. He is an exemplary boy with no offences. He has feet and toes very similar to a monkey's.

No. 11. Venkatigadu, a Balija, aged 12 years, both parents living: convicted of theft by an old offender. A well-conducted boy, who takes notes of all moral lessons given.

PLATE XXIV.

YOUTHFUL CRIMINALS WITH A PASSION FOR TOBACCO.

No. 12. Kanakkayya, a Nagara by caste, aged 12 years, both parents dead : was sent for theft, after a previous conviction. This boy is very cunning, and is able to keep himself from getting into serious trouble. He is an instigator, and has been suspected of trumping up false charges against the boys he dislikes.

No. 13. Obalesigadu, comes from Anantapur, a district which rarely sends boys to the school, a Saliya by caste, aged 11 : he was sent for pocket-picking of Rs. 3, being his first conviction.

No. 14. Venkataraman Pillai, a Vellala of Madura, aged 13, both parents living : sent for house-breaking and theft ; his first conviction. An exemplary youth who could be discharged before his time.

BAD TYPES OF JUVENILE CRIMINALS.

Kannan, a Pillai by caste, belonging to Madras, aged 12, both parents living : committed theft of three measures of castor oil, after a previous conviction. His previous occupation was that of a mill hand. His three school offences were theft of (1) mangoes ; (2) cocoanuts ; (3) a cake of English tobacco from the sergeant's house. *(See Plate XXIV, No. 1.)*

Raju, a Kammala by caste, aged 11, with both parents living : he was convicted on two counts of theft of ornaments from children, after a previous conviction. His parents refused to support him or be responsible for him. His school offences were four of 'tobacco,' two of concealing stolen property and an unnatural offence. This boy is intelligent, but weak enough to be led astray. *(Plate XXIV, No. 2.)*

Shaik Dada, a Mahomedan by birth, with Mongolian type of features, aged 9, both parents alive : convicted of theft by an old offender. His record in the school is a bad one. He was licensed out to a firm of tailors and within a month he was sent back for having stolen a 10-rupee note from the pocket of the proprietor. A few months after, he was caught stealing two pieces of new cloth. He is able to assume the most innocent exterior when suspected of wrong-doing. Flat-footed, repulsive in features and in gait, he has contaminated several boys by his indecent acts and thieving propensities. Such a boy is incapable of reformation. He even tried to bring the maistry into trouble by removing the shuttle of a sewing machine and throwing it over the boundary wall. (*Plate XXV.*)

Appadu, a Vellala, aged 13, both parents living, convicted of theft in removing Rs. 7 from the waist cloth of a woman as she was giving up her railway ticket. (*See Plate XXVI.)* He had two previous convictions. Soon after admission, he stole 6½ annas from the pocket of the Deputy Superintendent's butler ; six weeks after this he stole a pappaya fruit. Later on, he was found in possession of tobacco. He has a bad record.

Plate XXVII. No. 1. Rada Krishnan, a Balija Naidu of Madras, aged 12, with father alive : committed theft of a gunny bag valued at three annas, after a previous conviction. He is a great thief, and sets up boys to disobey and give trouble.

No. 2. Chengadu, a Jogi or Yenadi of Nellore, aged 9, both parents living : he was charged with stealing two annas, a short time previously he was convicted of

PLATE XXV.

AN INCORRIGIBLE WITH MONGOLIAN TYPE OF FEATURES.

PLATE XXVI.

A JUVENILE WITH A BAD RECORD.
HE HAS A VILLAINOUS EXPRESSION.

PLATE XXVII.

JUVENILES WITH THIEVING PROPENSITIES IN SCHOOL.

PLATE XXVIII.

A JUVENILE WHO KILLED HIS OWN NEPHEW,
HE HAS THE FACE OF A SLOTH.

stealing a cloth. His school offences include one of stealing and two of 'tobacco'. He is a Reddi Yenadi with a Mongolian type of face.

No. 3. Khaja Mohideen, a Tamil-speaking Mahomedan of Trichinopoly, his occupation being driving an oil mill; aged 11, with both parents living: he was convicted of theft by an old offender. His school offences were all 'tobacco.'

No. 4. Strinivasa Govindan, a Vanniya by caste, aged 13, father living. The father admitted that he was unable to exercise any control over his son, who was convicted of house-breaking and theft in a building, after a previous conviction, he having deprived a child of its neck-jewel. This boy was a confirmed thief in school and cunning enough to avoid punishment.

Sellappen, a Goundan, aged 14 years, has a mother living. *(See Plate XXVIII.)* He was charged with having killed his own nephew, a child of three. Both the assessors found the accused not guilty. They believed that the accused threw a stone at a blood-sucker, and that the stone accidentally hit the deceased. The evidence of a prosecution witness showed that the accused was the only person present when the deceased was murdered. The story of the blood-sucker would not explain the three injuries on the deceased. Nor would it explain the disappearance of the silver waist-cord. The Judge did not consider it proved that the accused intended to kill the deceased. It would not have been necessary to do so, to steal the waist-cord. All he intended to do probably was to stun the child, and frighten it so much that it would not dare

complain. The accused must, however, have known that he was likely to cause the death of the child when he struck him hard blows with a stone or other blunt instrument.

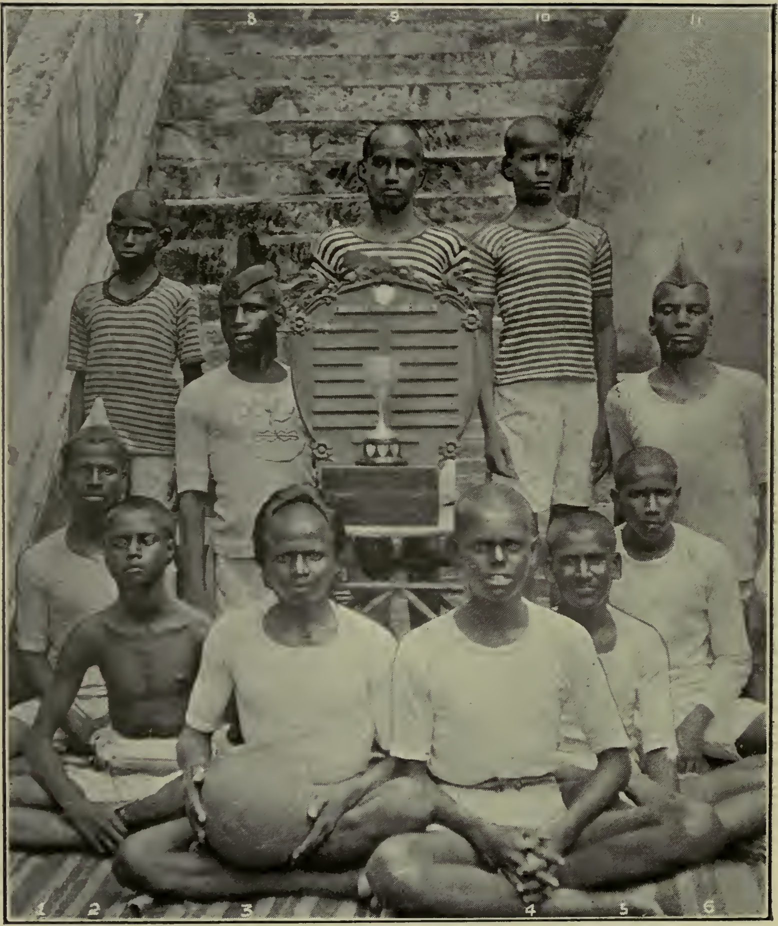
Manickam Pillai, a Vellala, aged 13, with parents living: he looked after goats. He was convicted of murder. *(See Plate XXIX).* Accused admitted that he went with the deceased to catch young parrots, and that eventually they went to a spot where they bathed, after deceased had removed his waist-cord. He said that they tried who could stay longest under water; that deceased held him under whilst he counted 30; that he then held deceased under till he counted 15; that bubbles then came up; that he lifted deceased, found that he was dead, left him there, and ran away. The assessors found accused guilty of murder and with their finding the Judge concurred. "It is impossible," he added, "to believe the whole story told by accused. There probably is some truth in it, but that a little boy of five would take off his waist-cord before entering water about two feet deep cannot be believed. The dead boy was three feet in height according to the civil apothecary, so he could not have been drowned in two feet of water unless he had been held down. It appeared that what happened was this. When accused and deceased got to the pond, accused, finding that they were alone, decided to rob deceased. So he suggested that they should see who could remain longest under water. He ducked first. When deceased ducked, he held him down until he was drowned. He then removed his waist-cord and ear-ornaments, which could be easily

PLATE XXIX.

A JUVENILE CONVICTED OF MURDER.

removed, went and hid them, and then coolly went off to play. He is evidently a hardened young ruffian. The civil apothecary thinks that he is about 12, but it is clear that he has attained sufficient maturity of understanding to know that he was doing wrong and what the consequence of his conduct would be." He was found guilty of murder, but, in the circumstances, sentenced to transportation for life, in lieu of which he was sent for 5 years to the Reformatory. In school, he was a kleptomaniac and stole a towel, a knife, and a bunch of keys belonging to the maistry, on different occasions. He was also strongly suspected of using a false key to a master's table drawer.

PLATE XXX.



THE HOLDERS OF THE SILVER CUP PRESENTED BY THE CITIZENS OF CHINGLEPUT AND COMPETED FOR BY THE HIGH SCHOOLS OF THE TOWN.

XIX.

FOOTBALL GROUP (PLATE XXX).

No. 1. Natesan, Palli by caste, aged 14 years : he was sent for stealing jewellery valued at Rs. 20, after a previous conviction. He had no relatives except a brother-in-law who kept a betel garden. After his discharge, he worked for a short time as a carpenter, but was convicted of theft before the year was out. This boy belonged to Madras, and went wrong by keeping bad company. The duffadar of the school informed me that a gang of bad characters exists in Madras to inveigle ex-pupils. They have been seen on the station platform awaiting the arrival of boys to be discharged, with a view to enlisting them in their service.

No. 2. Anser Mean, aged 11, with father living. This boy committed theft in respect of 11 limes, valued at 4½ annas, after a previous conviction, and was sent here for seven years. He obtained the goal which won the silver cup shewn in the photograph, breaking his arm over it. He is employed as a tailor and follows the profession taught him. Such a boy should have been sent to an industrial school and not to a reformatory.

No. 3. Doyya, aged 13 years : belongs to the Boyi or Baviri caste. Father deceased, mother alive, brother a horse-keeper. The boy was a syce to the Assistant

Collector, and was sent for house-breaking by night and theft and sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment ; first conviction. He was in the school for five years and he increased in weight from 73 lbs. to 105 lbs. His record of school offences was as follows :— Stealing a towel, leaving his class and asking an outsider for snuff, knocking down mangoes, found in possession of snuff, found with a lighted cigar, helping an accomplice to remove tobacco from the office, stealing cocoanuts, taking a stone to intimidate the head peon, and climbing a cocoanut tree to defy him, going over the boundary wall without permission and abusing his maistry, abusing a peon, and disobeying orders. For a year previous to his discharge, he had no punishments, and as an encouragement he was appointed assistant monitor. The after history of this boy as a bugler in the Police was most satisfactory.

No. 4. Sabhigadu. This boy is by caste a Donga Dasari, aged 13, father living. Picking pockets, for which he was sent here, is the usual avocation of the youngsters of this class. He had two previous convictions. On discharge he was enlisted in the Police, promising that he would break up the criminal gang of which he was formerly a member.

No. 5. Karuppan. Palla by caste, aged 14 years, with parents living. He, forcibly, with his teeth wrenched the earrings off a little boy aged 8, tearing open the lobes of his ears. After doing this, he went to the master of a school to whom he was related and asked him to sell the earrings for him. The matter was then reported to the police. First conviction. His

father was in prison at the time for dacoity. This boy was put in the band for training and always had a smiling face, but before his discharge he became morose and complained of a pain in the chest. He was, on discharge, enlisted in a regimental band, but left it after six weeks, suffering from the same cause. He worked afterwards as an agricultural cooly.

No. 6. Kandaswami, aged 11 years, with both parents living. Belongs to the panchama caste and has a low type of face : committed theft after a previous conviction. His first school offence was causing a scalp wound by striking a boy violently with a bottle. He then kept straight for four years, during which time he became an assistant monitor. From sheer excitement he suddenly took it into his head, when the fit came on him, to break open several locks, one after another, and he was found with a knife which he intended for the Sergeant. When locked up for this offence, he broke open two cubicles, but desisted from further violence when I spoke to him quietly, pointing out his foolishness, at which he burst into tears. There is very little hope of reforming such a character, who breaks out for no cause at intervals. He has a slouching walk, and was never seen to smile.

No. 7. Ankadu ; an Odda Dasari, aged 12, of Gollakuppam near Tirutani, Chingleput District, father deceased, mother sells beads. He is a first offender, sent for theft. His only school offence was that of giving to another boy a cop of black twist. Although he is a small boy, he is a good football player and he misses the hacking because he only comes up to the

waist of a big boy. He has very prominent bat-shaped ears, and is very hairy, his body being covered with hair of a dust-brown colour.

No. 8. Ponrungam ; a Vellala by caste, has a mother and step-father. He was convicted at the age of 10 of house-breaking by day and theft in a building of brass vessels and a cloth. First conviction.

No. 9. Ramalingam Pillai, aged 12, both parents living. His first offence was house-breaking by night and theft, for which he was sentenced to five stripes. He again committed theft of a bicycle pump, three wrenches and a screw driver, valued at Rs. 4. He rose to be an assistant monitor, but lost his cap over tobacco offences.

No. 10. Kaker Karim, aged 14 years ; 1st offence, theft, for which he received 15 stripes ; 2nd offence, theft for which he received 30 stripes ; 3rd offence was receiving stolen property, *viz.*, Rs. 8, removed from the pocket of a person while watching a street performance. He had two accomplices. This boy evidently kept bad company, for he had no relatives. He was sent for four years, and was so exemplary in his conduct at school that he was licensed out as a bugler to the Police department.

No. 11. Budan Sahib, aged 13, had both parents living. He was convicted of putting his hand into a person's pocket and taking his purse and running away with it ; the man was selling onions at the time. This was after a previous conviction. He rose to be senior monitor of the school. After discharge, he enlisted in the 81st Pioneer regiment, and is able to earn extra

money by doing a little tailoring, which was the trade taught him in the school.

From the several cases recorded, the class of juvenile offenders admitted into the school may be seen, as also the nature of juvenile crime. Seventy per cent. were habitual offenders, or on the way to become habitual offenders, or in other words, they had been previously convicted. The average for the last fifteen years works out to the same figure. Two-thirds, or 66% (more frequently it is 70%), of the juveniles had committed simple theft, such as pocket-picking and stealing, and 30 per cent. were guilty of more serious offences like house-breaking, robbery, dacoity, kidnapping, and murder. Of 16 typical cases, one was committed at the age of 15, five were committed at the age of 14, six at 13, two at 12 and two at 10, so that serious crime in India, where boys reach maturity at an early age, is committed at rather an early age. In European countries, juvenile offenders over 16 years of age usually commit violence with theft.

Another fact in addition to the nature of juvenile crime may also be learnt from the records of these boys, *viz.*, that parental neglect accounts for most of the wrong-doing in juveniles. Of the cases reproduced, 26 had both parents living, 16 one parent, and only five were orphans. Taking the whole strength of the school, out of 190 boys, 50·2 per cent. have both parents living, 35 per cent. have one parent alive and only 14·6 per cent. are totally orphans.

XX.

PHYSICAL DEVELOPMENT OF JUVENILE CRIMINALS.

THE juveniles of a criminal population from hereditary and other causes are, as a rule, poorer in physique than those of a normal population. Precarious living, irregular hours of food, unhealthy surroundings, all contribute to lower the tone of health. And yet the casual visitor is struck with the good condition and physique of reformatory boys, who present on the whole a healthy, happy and contented appearance, and show abundant signs of being well looked after. Regular and wholesome food, regular hours of work and sleep, enforced cleanliness of body, healthy exercise, and sanitary surroundings work a marvellous change. The pupils are weighed once a month, and the average number who lose weight are comparatively few, the condition of these being carefully watched by the Superintendent. The statistics for the last ten years are as follows :—The percentage of pupils who lost weight is 4·4, those who gained weight, 85·6 per cent. and those who remained

stationary, 9·8 per cent. These figures prove that the physical condition of the boys is satisfactory.

The height, chest, upper and fore-arm measurements are taken once a year, and from figures extending over several years, the following averages have been worked out :—

Average measurements of boys at different ages.

Age.	Height.	Weight.	Chest.	Fore-arm.	Upper-arm.
11	4′	58⅓	25⅓	6¾	7⅓
12	4⅓′	61½	26	7	7½
13	4½′	68½	27	7½	8
14	4¾′	74⅓	27¾	7¾	8¼
15	4′-10½	81	28½	8	8½
16	5′	89	29¾	8½	9
17	5⅓′	94	30⅓	8¾	9½

From these figures it will be observed that juveniles grow in height most rapidly between the ages of 11 and 12, and 16 and 17, but between 15 and 16, while the increase in height is little, the increase in the other dimensions is greater than at any other age.

The increase at the various ages are given below :—

Ages between.	Height.	Weight.	Chest.	Fore-arm.	Upper-arm.
11 and 12	4″	3⅙lb.	⅔″	¼	⅙
12 ,, 13	2″	7	1″	½	½
13 ,, 14	3″	5⅙	¾″	¼	¼
14 ,, 15	1½″	6⅔	¾″	¼	¼
15 ,, 16	1½″	8	1¼″	½	½
16 ,, 17	4″	5	7/12″	¼	½

The average gain per pupil in one year is $2\frac{2}{3}''$ in height, 6 lbs. in weight, $\frac{5}{6}''$ in chest, $\frac{6}{18}''$ in fore-arm and $\frac{7}{18}''$ in upper-arm.

A rough scale is thus shewn of weight for height. and for age *cum* height, and it will afford a standard by which a juvenile's health and progress may be tested.

In the case of healthy adult Indian prisoners 5 feet represents 100 lbs. and for every additional inch in height 3 lbs. are added to find the corresponding weight.

The following table was taken from Woodman and Tidy, "Forensic Medicine":—

Age.	Weight.	Height.
10	55·6 lbs.	4′—2·4″
11	59·6	4′—4·5″
12	63·13	4′—6·5″
13	72·13	4′—8·4″
14	81·9	4′—10·6″
15	90·9	5′—1″
16	99·13	5′—3″

For Europeans, the following table is given in Lyon's "Medical Jurisprudence for India."

Age.	Weight.	Height.
11	72 lbs.	4′—5½″
12	76¾	4′—7″
13	82½	4′—9″
14	92	4′—11¼″
15	106¾	5′—2¼″
16	119	5′—4¼″
17	131	5′—6¼″

TATTOOING.

Tattooing is a practice which is common amongst savage and primitive tribes. That the criminal classes should carry on the practice is what one would expect. On examining the juveniles sent to the school, it was found that 47·3 per cent. were tattooed, a percentage which is non-existent in an ordinary school, and may be considered high. All the Madrasis were found tattooed ; almost all the Vellalas, who are a respectable class ; all the Padayachees, all the Panchamas, Koravars, Idaiyans, and Shanars, and excepting the Idaiyans, these belong either to the lowest or to the criminal class. The motive is various in the several castes. The Vellalas and the Idaiyans, who form the highest castes among the Tamil speaking non-Brahman castes, tattoo their bodies either for the sake of beautifying their persons, or to protect themselves from diseases. The Shanars also believe that tattoo marks will ward away diseases such as small-pox. The Madrasis and the Panchamas adopt the practice perhaps because it is considered fashionable. Some of the Panchamas were found to be tattooed to keep green the remembrance of their friends. A few of the Koravars confessed to having tattooed themselves in order to hide their marks of identification in case they found themselves once again in the presence of a magistrate. With such a variety of causes, further investigation is required before one can accept the theory that tattooing reveals a tendency to vice in the character of an individual. The balance of opinion is, I think, on the side of instinct. *(See Plate XXXI.)*

PLATE XXXI.

Bodi, *alias* Subbarayan. Here we have an instance of *gynecomasty*, which is common among criminals. The youth is fifteen years of age and is an habitual criminal. In school also he has been caught pilfering things and is idle in his habits.

PLATE XXXII.

This plate exhibits some types of feet among juvenile criminals. One chief characteristic is their flat-footedness. Notice that the space between the great toe and the second toe is wide, and that the space also between the several toes is abnormal. The pair of feet, third from the right, is prehensile in character and closely resembles those of a monkey.

Anthropometry.

How far it may throw light on the mental condition of pupils.

In India, there is a great field for research in criminal Anthropology and Anthropometry. The formation of the cranium and the ear are good subjects for study. Pointed heads, flat roofed skulls and receding foreheads are noted abnormalities, and in regard to the ear, which is very sensitive to nervous disturbances, malformations are said to be more common among criminals than the ordinary type of man—in short, criminals are supposed to present features more akin to the savage races, and to possess corresponding traces of character. From an examination of several subjects, important conclusions may be arrived at in a branch of knowledge which receives little attention.

The institution of reformatory schools being a comparatively new movement in India, no trustworthy figures are available with regard to the abnormalities of juvenile criminals, and a start may be made of taking the cephalic or vital index of each juvenile and generalising from it as far as possible. With the aid of a pair of callipers, which every school should possess, the breadth of the head can be measured, as well as the length. If the breadth be multiplied by 100 and divided by the length, the result is known as the cephalic index, which is the ratio between the maximum length and maximum breadth of the skull. In this way, heads may be divided into 3 classes : when the index is less than 75, the person is said to be longheaded or dolichocephalic ; when the index ranges from 75 to 79, the head is medium or

mesati-cephalic ; and when the index is from 80 to 85 the head is broad or brachycephalic (the Mongolian type). In juveniles, this index will vary from age to age, and from statistics we may perhaps learn between what ages the intelligence of a child varies, and perhaps whether his index is quite up to the average of his caste or class, *e.g.*, among broad-headed boys, aged 15 years, the average index for Tamil boys is 83, for Telugu 83 and for Hindustani 81. Among the medium-headed, the average for the Tamil boy is 77, for the Telugu 76 and for the Hindustani 77. In the long-headed class, the Tamils measure 73, the Telugus 73 and the Hindustanis 72. Thus, the average for each caste or community may be found at the various ages.

From limited statistics taken in the school, it was found that Hindustani boys are inclined to be broad-headed, and that a small majority of the Tamil and Telugu boys are medium-headed, while an almost equal percentage among them were found to be long-headed —of course, it must be admitted that there is a possibility of the boys who are called Tamil boys not being really Tamils. It was also found that the medium-headed boys showed most intelligence, the Telugus leading the way, while the broad and long-headed showed least intelligence. This observation seems to prove that abnormalities in the size of the head among juvenile criminals may not indicate intelligence, although long-headedness may be a favourable sign among normal children.

It has been noted also, from measurements recorded at different periods, that, taking the average of the

various classes, the cephalic index was greatest at 14 and 15 years, while it decreased at 16 and 17, reaching its lowest at the age of 17. The conclusions one is inclined to arrive at from measurements and personal knowledge of the boys are, (1) that no intellectual stress should be placed upon boys of the criminal class between the ages of 13 and 14 years; (2) that most boys between the ages of 14 and 15 are brightest; and (3) that towards the period of adolescence, mental stagnation sets in. A plea, therefore, is set up for a greater amount of general education which taxes the mental power, for junior boys, and for a mechanical training for the senior boys between the ages of 16 and 18.

XXI.

NEED FOR MORE REFORMATORIES.

THE number of juvenile offenders under the age of 15 who have been convicted for the last twelve years are as follows :—

In	1895,	there were	361	juveniles	convicted.
,,	1896	,,	294	,,	,,
,,	1897	,,	335	,,	,,
,,	1898	,,	376	,,	,,
,,	1899	,,	354	,,	,,
,,	1900	,,	440	,,	,,
,,	1901	,,	458	,,	,,
,,	1902	,,	317	,,	,,
,,	1903	,,	228	,,	,,
,,	1904	,,	227	,,	,,
,,	1905	,,	311	,,	,,
,,	1906	,,	319	,,	,,

The average for the twelve years works out to 335 juveniles per year who were convicted. Of these, about 35 are sent to the Reformatory, so that 300 still remain to be dealt with under the Reformatory Act, and these figures are quite sufficient to justify the establishment of a second Reformatory in Southern India. From the figures quoted above the question may be asked : Is juvenile crime on the increase or decrease ? To judge by figures the answer is that it is on the decrease ; for while the average for the first six years is 360, the average

for the last six years is 310, the consideration of the increase or growth of population in that period being excluded. This tendency, however, is not the experience of European countries, where juvenile crime is found to be on the increase, and if this is so in countries where education is compulsory and conditions are favourable, one is inclined to the opinion that the decrease observed in this Presidency is perhaps due to the fact that magistrates, owing to the restricted accommodation in the reformatory, adopt other means of punishing juvenile offenders than those adopted a few years back.

SEGREGATION.

The success of all reformatory work depends to a large extent on the complete segregation of pupils of various degrees of criminality from each other. This can only be accomplished by having several correctional institutions. Boys of the worst type should be sent to a place where hard work and strict discipline are combined, in order that they may acquire the habits of industry, and boys of a tender age to an institution, where domestic feelings and individuality are cultivated and where work is made attractive and educative. These children should receive kind and sympathetic management and they will respond to every suggestion and advice of the teacher. In fact, liberty more or less of the type of the boarding school should be allowed. By these means, juveniles are associated together who profit best under the same treatment.

Every one will admit that the innocent should not be associated with the hardened criminal, for not only is the discipline, the training and the incentives required

for each class different, but what is more dangerous is that the vicious are bound to contaminate the minds of the younger ones at an impressionable age. If we view criminality as a moral disease, then to prevent contagion, we must have faith in the scientific treatment of segregation. And one bad boy is quite enough to contaminate a whole class, especially if he is looked up to by his school mates who are younger in age and weaker in physical strength. One instance of a riot in the school can be traced to this cause and several acts of insubordination and indecency. So that not only from a moral but also from an educational point of view, differentiation, classification and segregation of juvenile criminals is essential. The creation of different types of institutions will also in the long run prove to be the most economical method, and the only sure way of reducing juvenile criminality.

WHETHER A JUVENILE OFFENDER SHOULD SPEND A SHORT PORTION OF HIS TIME IN JAIL PRIOR TO HIS DETENTION IN THE SCHOOL.

According to the spirit of the Reformatory Act, a boy is expected to be sent straight from the Magistrate's court to the school, but as accommodation is somewhat restricted, vacancies are registered in advance, with the result that a juvenile spends from 3 to 6 months in jail before accommodation can be found for him. At first sight, it seems a pity that a boy of tender age should ever see the inside of a prison, and yet on the other hand it is just possible that an insight into the conditions of prison life and the subsequent treatment in a Reformatory, may lead a boy to institute comparisons and to think

twice before he commits himself again after discharge. It may be argued too that if a juvenile criminal passes through the avenue of a prison to a Reformatory school it would not place guilty children in a better position than the children of respectable and honest parents, and on the other hand that the abolition of it may lead parents to encourage their children in a criminal career with the object of getting them the advantages of the school. It is true that we do get, not infrequently, applications from respectable people who have no control over unruly sons for their admission into the school, and the reply to their request is tantamount to asking them to get their sons to steal something with the object of being convicted, when it is pointed out to them that the school is intended for juvenile criminals alone who have been convicted by a magistrate. I do not think however that any use is made of this doubtful advantage, although to my personal knowledge there were two instances where innocent boys were sent to the school on trumped-up charges, connived at by their parents, who wished to avoid the trouble of looking after disobedient children. On the whole, one is inclined to believe that a little period spent in jail will work for good, for the boy sees that the discipline and life in a prison is a thing not to be desired but rather to be avoided. This is borne out by the opinion of the boys themselves.

The Reformatory Schools Act of 1897.

The Committee of Visitors.

In an institution which is superintended by a Commissioned Officer aided by an Educational Officer of

the Provincial Service, no great advantage is gained by the appointment of a committee of visitors provided for in section 17 (1) of the Act. The institution as it is, is a much inspected one, and official visitors are constantly in and about the place. One cannot take any exception to the existence of a committee who on the whole try to aid the work of the school, but occasionally a great deal of harm results by a member whose zeal outruns his discretion, and who wishes to show it by interfering with the discipline of the school, forgetting that only one head can keep discipline. The boys are able to detect where power lies, and if they suspect that a committee of visitors has power over the Superintendent, however slender that may be, they are not slow to take advantage of it, to the detriment of good discipline. The proper view to be taken by the committee is the one laid down in the school rules, *viz.*, that the committee should *aid* the superintendent in maintaining discipline and that they are an advisory body.

The committee themselves have acknowledged the absence of any advantage derived from their deliberations once a month, and some of the members have suggested that Government be addressed with a view to amending Section 17 (*a*) of the Act so that the management of a school may be vested either in a superintendent or board of management, and not in a superintendent and committee of visitors. It is moreover difficult to find suitable gentlemen who would be willing to accept office on the committee, the result being that it becomes packed with vakils who do not take a practical interest in the work.

In Section 23 (*a*) of the Act, one of the duties of the committee of visitors laid down is "to hear complaints." These words may well be omitted, for to my personal knowledge an over-zealous member had on one occasion actually gone round and asked the boys if they had any complaints to make, and with what result one can easily imagine! If this is to be tolerated, no reforming work is possible, when a boy is actually tempted, or the idea is suggested to him, to bring a report against one whom he should look upon as a guardian or father.

On the other hand, the duty of scrutinising the reports of ex-pupils to see if a fair chance was given them of making a start in life may be added to the list of duties.

Then again in Section 18 (1), a boy is licensed out with the sanction of the committee. An employer of labour may require the services of a youth urgently and to obtain the sanction of the committee, there is a delay of a month or two. As the committee always accept the recommendations of the Superintendent, this power may well be delegated to him. I would also suggest that the words, "being an employer of labour," be omitted from this section, because a respectable private individual may require the services of a youth to be trained in domestic work.

In section 32 of the Act, the procedure is laid down when a youthful offender under detention in a Reformatory school is again convicted and sentenced. The section reads thus:—"When a youthful offender during his period of detention in a Reformatory school, is again convicted by a criminal court, the sentence of such

court shall commence at once, notwithstanding anything to the contrary in section 397 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1882, but the Court shall forthwith report the matter to the Local Government, which shall have power to deal with the matter in any way in which it thinks fit."

When this section was framed, I venture to think that it was the intention of Government that the section should apply only to those boys who misconducted themselves in the school; but a case happened recently in the school when a boy sent here for detention was again removed from the school to answer another charge of an offence committed before his admission to the school, but discovered *after* his admission. It was only a formal trial, which served no useful purpose. On the other hand, it proved detrimental to the boy's training, and it was pitiful to see the tears he shed at his removal from the school. This section, therefore, should be altered or more clearly defined, and its scope should be restricted to offences committed after admission into the school. It is true that the power conferred upon the Local Government to pass such orders as the circumstances of each case require may, to some extent, prevent the consequences of a subsequent conviction from being prejudicial to the character and career of the pupil convicted. But if a boy has been convicted of one, or even several offences, and in lieu of being sent to jail, he is detained in a reformatory school for a period of training, the discovery of another offence committed *before* his admission to the school does not alter the period of detention passed on him, *viz.*, that he should

remain in the school till he attains the age of eighteen. No useful purpose is served by another trial ; on the other hand, it is distinctly cruel to march a boy off from the school under police escort to appear in a magistrate's court in order that he may answer certain charges. If he is convicted and sentenced, the sentence of such court commences at once, and remains in force till the orders of Government are received. The juvenile, therefore, for a second time, sees the inside of a prison, and it must be repugnant to the feelings, both of the authorities and of the pupils, to see a playmate of the school marched back from jail under police escort.

XXII.

THE TREATMENT OF ADULT-JUVENILES.

EVERY period of life has its own mental and physical characteristics, its own instincts and temptations, and if any criminal instinct is latent in a juvenile, it begins to assume life and vigour at the critical age of maturity. It would appear necessary therefore that for adult-juveniles between the ages of 16 and 21 a correctional institution should be established in India. It is a period when there is a tendency for criminal habits to get a firm hold on the youth, and when he is most subject to violent outbreaks of passion. When such an one exhibits anti-social feelings in the direction of another's person or property, he falls within the working of the criminal law and is sent to jail, but the punishment inflicted is seldom effective in inducing him to abandon his criminal career. What is wanted is an institution where reformatory work may be continued. In a jail where criminals of all sorts are huddled together, contamination is bound to be at work. The conditions also of prison life are too severe to turn out a youth fit for living under the ordinary social laws of the outer world. Moreover, the period of training is too short to make any permanent change of character. This treatment of

young offenders helps to swell the ranks of misdemeanants. Even in England the treatment of juvenile-adult offenders against the law is not all that could be desired. The Probation of Offenders' Act only came into force at the beginning of this year. It enables a court, if it thinks that the offender's age, mental capacity or surroundings afford some extenuation of his offence, or if the offence is a trifling one, to bind him over and place him under the care of the probation officer—usually the court missionary. The offender must report himself from time to time to this officer, and inform him of what he is doing. If the probation officer has reason to believe that the offender is abusing his privilege, he may bring him before the court, and the court can deal with him for his original offence.

In the United States the juvenile-adult is regarded as "a possible hopeful case up to the age of thirty."

In Germany it is not easy for a lad to reach a very advanced age before being discovered as a fit subject for the application of the law for "guardianship education" or "upbringing under care." The authorities are cognisant of every family and individual, their circumstances and movements. By the law which came into operation in 1901, "a minor up to the age of 18, if his surroundings are such as endanger his physical or moral welfare, must be removed from them." British rule in India would probably revolt against so drastic a form of state interference, but at least something might be done to remedy the sad condition of affairs which allows adults between the ages of 16 and 21 to find their way into prison. The criminal appreciates

sympathy, and this can only be obtained in an institution where reformatory methods are at work. The adult must be made to breathe the atmosphere of industrial training, and should be induced to take an interest in his work, not by setting him a daily task the non-fulfilment of which will bring him punishment, but by intelligent explanation and help, and by dividing the profits with him. Such treatment alone will help to lessen the habitual criminal; but short sentences of imprisonment passed on juvenile adults help to create the criminal at a period when instincts are strong and habits get fixed. But, taken in hand at this critical time and treated with sympathy, a certain amount of success is sure to result. There is reason also to believe that a short period in jail is more attractive to a juvenile criminal than a long period of detention to be spent in a Reformatory school. The boy who was put out on license and stole a ten-rupee note was sent back to the school by the licensee but he demanded to be sent to jail rather than spend a longer period in school. Of course the boy was an incorrigible youth, who knew how to avoid punishment. Detention therefore in a Reformatory is likely to prove a greater deterrent to the commission of crime than a few months of imprisonment in jail. I would also advocate that an ex-pupil who happens unfortunately to get re-convicted during the first year after his discharge, that is, in his 19th year, or perhaps it may be in his 17th or 18th year, be sent to an adult Reformatory for a further course of discipline and training, so that there would be two

classes of institutions for adults, one for the lad over 16 years of age who had not previously seen the inside of a Reformatory, and the other for the re-convicted Reformatory ex-pupil ; but as the number of such pupils is not likely to be large, perhaps one institution would do for both classes. In any case the number admitted should be small, because there is more chance of individual attention being paid to the inmates, and for the reason that the risk from a limited guarding staff is thereby reduced, Reformatory work necessitating arrangements and regulations almost akin to those of an orphanage or boarding school.

The age of discharge may be fixed at 21, thus giving a youth an average stay of from 2 to 3 years, during which time he ought to receive an industrial training of the very best. The carrying out of this scheme may reasonably be expected to reduce the ranks of the habitual criminal by giving him a chance of making a fresh start in life.

APPENDIX A.

In rule 1079 of the rules framed under the Prisons Act, 1894, the following general principles determining the circumstances in which a juvenile offender should or should not ordinarily be sent to the Reformatory have been approved by Government, viz :—

(1) No boy should be sent to the Reformatory who is an habitual criminal, except it be at a very early stage of his career.

(2) No boy should be sent to the Reformatory who is subject to any infirmity or defect, mental or physical, which would permanently incapacitate him for industrial training.

(3) No boy should be sent to a Reformatory who has been convicted of an unnatural offence, or of gross indecency, indicative of habitual immorality.

(4) As a rule, the most proper subjects for Reformatory treatment are boys who are without proper parental or other control, and who have been guilty of an offence or offences against property.

APPENDIX B.

Rules for magistrates regarding the age and period of detention of youthful offenders sent to Reformatory schools.

Section 8 (1) of the Reformatory Schools Act lays down that a boy shall be detained for a period which shall be not less than three years or more than seven years.

Section 11 (1) states that the magistrate shall inquire into the youthful offender's age, and after taking such evidence (if any) as may be deemed necessary, shall record a finding thereon, stating his age *as nearly as may be.*

Section 13 (2) reads thus—"No person shall be detained in a Reformatory school after he has been found by the local Government to have attained the age of eighteen years.

In the notification of the Government of India, Home Department, Judicial, dated 30th June 1887, No. 1076, the following rule for regulating the periods for which courts and magistrates may send youthful offenders to Reformatory schools was published :—

"No boy shall be sent to a Reformatory school, if under ten years of age, for a less period than seven years ; if over ten years of age for a less period than five years, unless he shall sooner attain the age of eighteen years."

From the sections of the Act quoted above it will be seen :

I. That a boy must be *under* the age of sixteen before a magistrate can direct him to be sent to a Reformatory school.

II. That in sending a juvenile, a magistrate is required, first, to fix his age and record the same, and secondly, to state the period of detention for which he is sent to the school in his warrant or proceedings.

There have been cases where a magistrate has fixed the age, say, between twelve and thirteen, and directed that the boy be detained for five or six years, unless he shall sooner attain the age of eighteen.

Such an order is indefinite, both as regards age and period of detention. The age should, for all practical purposes, have béen fixed at twelve, the lower age, not only for the reason that the boy thereby receives a longer training, but particularly as the Act lays down in section 13 (1) that, if the age of a youthful offender has been understated in the order of detention and he will attain the age of eighteen years before the expiration of the period for which he has been ordered to be detained, the matter shall be reported for the orders of the Local Government. In all doubtful cases, therefore, it is advisable that the magistrate should fix the lower age.

Period of detention.

As regards the period of detention, it is in accordance with the terms of the Government of India notification that—If a boy is under ten years of age, he should be sent for seven years.

If a boy is ten years of age, he may be sent for five, six, or seven years.

If a boy is eleven years of age, he may be sent for five, six or seven years.

If a boy is twelve years of age, he may be sent for five or six years.

If a boy is thirteen years of age, he should be sent for five years.

If a boy is fourteen years of age, he should be sent for four years.

If a boy is fifteen years of age, he should be sent for three years (which is the minimum).

In case a District Magistrate commits an error with regard to the period of detention, the High Court has, in Criminal Revision Petition No. 45 of 1905, ruled that under section 10 of the Reformatory Schools Act, which confers executive rather than judicial powers, the District Magistrate is himself capable of rectifying the mistake he has made.

The form of detention order proposed by the High Court and sanctioned by Government under section 15 of 24 and 25 Vict., cap. 104, is as follows :—

It is hereby found that......................., a youthful offender convicted according to law and sentenced to $\frac{\text{imprisonment}}{\text{transportation}}$ is $\frac{\text{under}}{\text{over}}$ ten years of age, *viz*............... years, and he is hereby directed to be sent to a Reformatory school and be there detained for...........years.

APPENDIX C.

Extract from rule 22 of the school rules made under section 26 (2) of the Reformatory Schools Act, 1897, by which certain enquiries (to be made by District Magistrates) are prescribed.

22. (i) At least two months before a pupil is entitled to be discharged, notice in the prescribed form (A) shall be sent to the magistrate of the district in which his parents or near relations reside, requesting him to secure the attendance, at a fixed time, of some trustworthy person to take charge of the boy. The magistrate may, if necessary, forward the boy to any subordinate magistrate within whose jurisdiction the boy's parents or near relations reside.

(ii) A discharged pupil shall be provided with a letter to the magistrate in the prescribed form (B), soliciting his sympathy in the pupil's behalf and requesting him to do what he can towards ensuring the pupil a fair start in life as well as reasonable protection against temptations to a relapse into crime. The magistrate shall endeavour to induce the local headman or some respectable neighbour to do what he can for the boy.

(iii) The pupil shall be sent to the magistrate, and by the magistrate, if necessary, to his relatives, in charge of a peon of the school, who shall be responsible for his treatment until he is handed over to his relatives.

* * *

(vii) When a boy of the criminal class is taken before a magistrate for discharge, the magistrate may dispose of him in such a manner as to protect him from the influence of criminal associates.

(viii) For three years from the date of a pupil's discharge, the Superintendent shall communicate with the magistrate, once in every six months, in the prescribed form (C), with a view to ascertain the career of the pupil since his discharge, and the magistrate's reply shall, in every case, be laid before the Committee of Visitors. An abstract of the reports shall be embodied in the annual reports to the Inspector-General. All enquiries regarding ex-pupils shall be made through the district civil officials other than the Police.

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